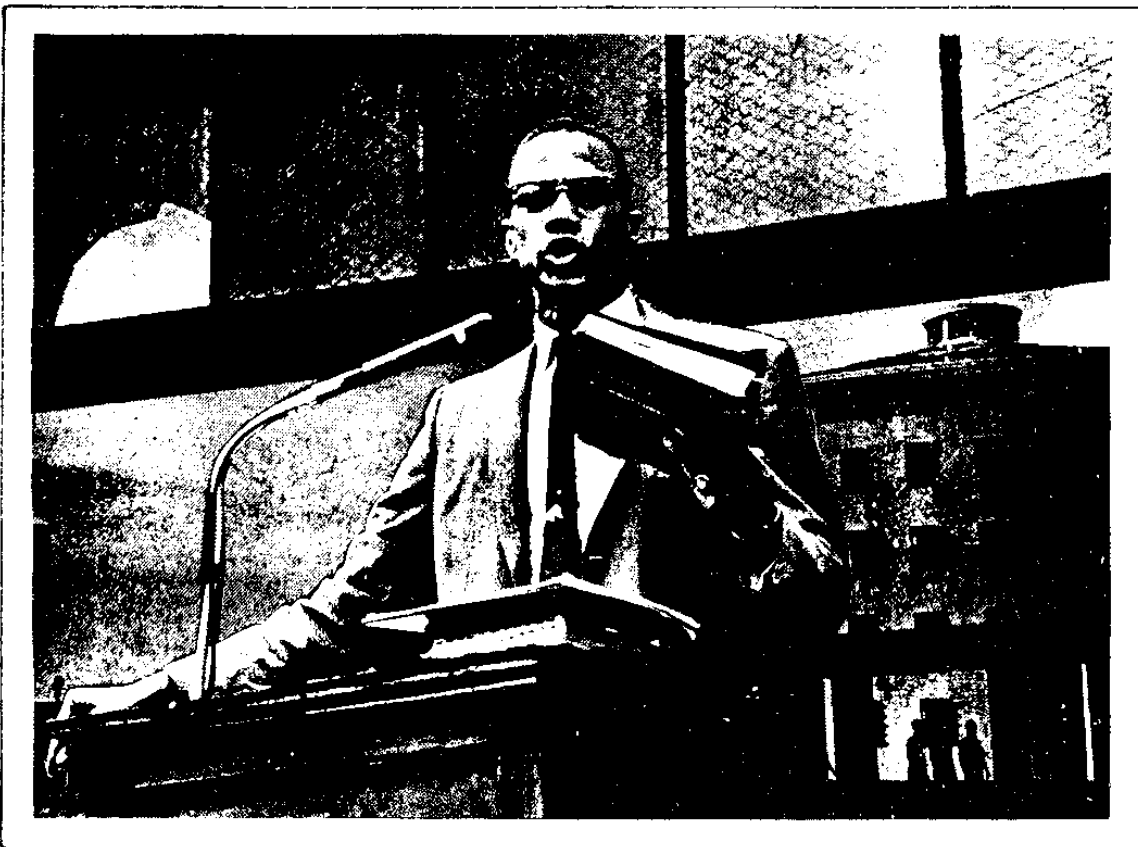


Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal book 7



Notes From a New Afrikan POW Journal - Book 7

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Kamp Documents

MARION STATEMENT - I

The first national penitentiary authorized to be constructed was the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, authorized on March 3, 1891. Today, nearly a century later, hundreds of prisoners in the Marion, Illinois, federal penitentiary (also called "New Alcatraz") find themselves entering into the fifth month of a mass strike, the longest in the 90-year history of the u.s. Bureau of Prisons.

Recently, the administration at Marion called a local press conference and unilaterally declared the strike to be at an official end. Absurd. The strike continues and WILL CONTINUE indefinitely. The general consensus among the prisoner population is that as long as the keepers refuse to entreat in good faith over the grievances presented, is as long as they will continue to wash clothes and dishes, prepare our measly meals, and perform other tasks "normally" carried out by prisoners.

It is true that relatively few "jobs" remain for prisoners to return to (not that anyone would return to work anyways), for the prison industries which were in operation here have been relocated to other kamps. However, the issue of actual prison jobs remaining is purely academic, for our grievances remain unchanged and unresolved, and if anything, additional ones have arisen as a result of various practices initiated by the administration here subsequent to the beginning of this latest strike action (September 15, 1980). We perceive these practices as an obvious attempt by the administration to provoke a bloody incident. Perhaps the keepers believe that by creating a violent incident, retaliation for the strike can be ministered in a physical manner and the general public unquestionably convinced that the prisoner population has no right and does not deserve relief on the demands set forth at the beginning of the strike. Never mind that should a violent situation ensue the purposeful provocation by the administration - the roots and reasons behind it will be flooded over by official pronouncements of the "criminally vicious" nature of the captive population, complete with long excerpts from select prisoners' officially contrived records.

Among other things, cold air is constantly blown into our cells, except for brief periods when everyone is asleep, medical care is lackadaisical and poor, certain caseworkers/counselors are criminally negligent in performing their prescribed duties, we are subjected to repetitious and unnecessary counts several times throughout the day, memoranda have been issued which mandate that those prisoners who refuse to go outside for recreation (in bitterly cold weather) must be locked in their cells during the "recreation period," we have not been allowed three hot meals per day even though the administration put this lie out to the press, interracial antagonisms are being exacerbated via conscious designs by the administration, etc.

We have been able to observe first hand just how devious high-ranking penal administrators can be in dealing with the public (not

to mention their dealings with prisoners). The lengths to which they will go to distort the truth of a given matter in order to accomplish their own ends has been exemplified numerous times throughout the period of this latest strike action. EXAMPLE: Three extensive lists of demands were initially presented to the administration. The lists included such fundamental rights as the practice of religion, adequate food and medical care, an end to harassment and beatings, closure of the infamous Control Unit, proper classification of prisoners sent to Marion, termination of the use of the torturous and outlawed "box-car cells," cessation of interference with prisoners' outgoing/incoming mail, an end to druggings and harassment of visitors, installation of comfortable seating arrangements in the visiting room, etc. Out of these and other legitimate grievances the administration, in collusion with certain media persons, extracted a demand entailing "two T-bone steaks per weeks" (sic). Great emphasis was placed on this particular item alleged to have been part of the lists of demands (really!?). Thus, we are made to seem unreasonable, our just demands and the strike itself to be frivolous and undeserving of serious consideration. Concomitant with the deceitful and misleading emphasis on the "T-bone steaks," a number of distortions and outright lies were circulated to the media by the official prison spokesman, a public relations man whose sole function is that of cleaning up administrative dirt which sometimes escapes into the public consciousness.

The local administration has played a principal part in events which have led up to this point, but not without directions from on high. The regional and national offices of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons are well aware of the strike, as well as the reasons for it, but have done nothing positive in terms of resolving the issues involved. From all indications, they have no intentions of rectifying the many wrongs that pervade the operation of this and other federal institutions.

The judiciary has made its position clear, also. The Marion Prisoners' Rights Project was cut off as a result of inquisition-type hearings which took place in Judge Foreman's court (7th Circuit). Staff at the Project were accused of instigating the strike (a lie) and barred from entering the prison. This, in spite of the fact that a large number of prisoners rely on the Project for legal aid.

Though the puerile attitude of the administration is clear to anyone who objectively analyzes the facts surrounding this action, we grudgingly acknowledge the masterful manner in which the media has been manipulated by the keepers here. EXAMPLE: A number of prisoners have been, and continue to be, on a hunger strike in response to the situation here, but participation is relatively limited (it takes dogged determination to starve one's body for principles). The administration, knowing that the ongoing hunger strike is limited to a few prisoners, invited the press into the institution to witness other prisoners eating. No mention was made of those of us who ARE refusing all food. It was then reported on the news that "reports of a hunger strike at Marion are greatly exaggerated." In the meantime, the hunger strikers continue to persevere, counting among their

number one Anthony Paradise, a political prisoner from Alabama who is a diabetic and in danger of lapsing into a coma, and quite possibly death, at any given moment.

We understand that people in the larger society have been effectively programmed into non-acceptance of the prisoner as a human being, yet we must make ceaseless efforts to penetrate the public consciousness with the TRUTH of what goes on in these prisons. Contrary to the official view, Marion harbors human beings, not animals and sub-humans. We ask that the public begin making inquiries into the situation here, and that for once, the words of prison administrators be given no more weight than the facts justify. If the truth of the matters complained of are known, we do not doubt that anyone with a sense of humanity will condemn the malicious, destructive actions and attitudes of those who continue to regard us as less than fully human beings, fully deserving of the respect and treatment due every member of the human family.

MARION STATEMENT - II

IN LOVE AND UNITY:

We are three Afrikans presently incarcerated in the maximum-security federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, referred to by knowledgeable folks as "New Alcatraz." We are currently engaged in a hunger strike to protest conditions in this and every other kamp where brutality, racism and total disregard for the human rights of captives — of whatever color — is the norm. We seek to focus attention on ourselves and this particular kamp because of the deep political significance of exposing this aspect of existence in amerika for poor people and peoples of color. It is the very least we can do under the circumstances.

Of the three of us, Comrades Roosevelt F. Youngblood (No. 32253-019) and Anthony-"Bectemba" Paradise (No. 32254-019) were transferred from the Alabama state kamps on dune 24, 1980 to federal kamps for their resistance to the inhumane conditions prevailing there. The two other comrades transferred out at the same time were Lincoln Heard and Mack Montgomery, now in the Lewisburg and Terre Haute federal prisons, respectively. Actually, "transferred" is a misnomer; "kidnapped" is a more fitting term. In the wee hours of the morning, those four Brothers were scooped up by the keepers, handcuffed and chained down, and whisked to the federal kamp at Atlanta, Georgia. From there, they were dispersed to various fed kamps throughout the kountry. They were not advised beforehand that they would be removed from the state kamps, nor were they allowed to contact their families, friends and supporters.

Such surreptitious maneuvers are standard operating procedures for penal officials all over when dealing with politically conscious prisoners. The same technique was carried out on Comrade Sundiata Acoli in late 1979 when he was snatched up from a New Jersey kamp and sent to Marion. We need only look back to the period when Comrade Assata Shakur was being bounced from kamp to kamp, including a MEN'S

prison; and Rita Brown, and countless other fully human beings who 'have taken principled stands against repression and official wrongdoing. In such cases, all facade of legality is dropped. Whatever is expedient for the fascists is what is done.

Forcibly, illegally sent to the federal prison system, those displaced Comrades have been subjected to the full range of punitive measures which are regularly accorded progressive/revolutionary captives and captives unpopular with the prison administration. Everything from mail interference to assassination attempts has been — and is being — carried out by penal officials in the name of "rehabilitation," "security," etc... ad nauseum....

Comrade Mateen (s/n Michael E. Garnett) has been identified by the keepers as a Communist Revolutionary, which is more than enough justification (to them) to doing whatever they can get away with. With a maximum sentence of only nine years, four of which have been served already, and the fact that he is scheduled for release to a half-way house in July of this year, and the additional fact that, according to the Bureau of Prisons OWN regulations, he should not be confined at Marion, and it becomes crystal clear to any thinking individual that he is at Marion for purely political reasons, although the keepers try to camouflage the truth of the matter with falsified memoranda and trumped-up incident reports inserted into his "Central File."

All three Comrades (among many others) were sent to Marion for the express purpose of being killed or of amassing more time on their present sentences as a result of defensive actions which may cause the wounding or death of others.

Comrade Bectemba (s/n Anthony Paradise) is a diabetic. During his time here, he has not been given a proper diet or timely insulin injections. He has been consistently, purposefully denied those fundamental considerations for no other reason than that his prison record shows him to be a stalwart prison activist. Incidentally, the assistant hospital administrator here, one Beckstram, is a notorious racist and generally hostile towards all prisoners. It is this same Beckstram who is originally responsible for insuring that prisoners with special needs, as with Bectemba, are accorded proper treatment. Nonetheless, prison officials in the local, regional and national offices of the u.s. Bureau of Prisons have been made aware of Bectemba's condition, and they have done nothing to remedy the situation.

We have "officially" been on strike since January 19th. Comrades Youngblood and Bectemba began some days prior to that date. Inadequate medical care and improper diet for Bectemba was the catalyst that set the hunger strike in motion, but the scope of the issues involved concern every prisoner imprisoned here.

The entire captive population has been on a work strike since September 15, 1980, and it is the longest strike in the history of the federal prison system. Again, local, regional and national BOP administrators have colluded to distort the facts surrounding this strike action, to mislead the public, and to provoke a violent situation. Most recently, prison officials have put out the blatant

lie that the strike is over, this lie being parroted by certain quarters of the local press. We assure you, in the name of every captive here, that the strike continues, and will continue indefinitely.

Our history is replete with examples of Afrikans done to death by functionaries of the racist amerikan state. So very, very many have obtained "the slave's freedom" due to direct actions of "the guardians of law and order." We have been beaten over the head with "law and order" until our brains have become soft, until our ability and willingness to defend ourselves collectively and as individuals has been criminally dulled. We seem to have forgotten altogether the courageous legacy passed down by those who have come before.

Buffalo, Miami, Atlanta; Soledad, Pontiac, Marion . . . In a hostile murderous society which has abused us for centuries, we continue to endure the malicious, racist treatment of a hypocritical nation built on thievery, deceit and coercion. All the while, we are bombarded by the cowardly, traitorous mouthings of spineless jackanapes who have thrown their lots in with the principal enemy of mankind. We hesitate to stand up and be counted among the righteous peoples of the planet earth, peoples who have risen in opposition to the beast. This is not our heritage and a passive posture is suicidal in light of the reality of existence in amerika.

Still, there have always been those among us who, driven to action by the crushing weight of unceasing oppression, have taken courage in hand and MOVED in a befitting manner. There have always been those who, out of genuine love for humanity and implacable hatred for the enemies of mankind, have stepped out onto the stage of history and assumed laudable roles. Yes, there have always been and doubtless will always be, but at present we are few and far between. Thus, the omnipresent need to embrace, enfold, support and encourage those of us on the front lines, whether inside the kamps or out.

Admittedly, our hunger strike almost pales into insignificance in the shadow of countless events transpiring elsewhere. However, we believe ourselves justifiably convinced that those of you who read this missive or hear its words will understand and respond in a righteous manner. We work towards a better society and a better world, and we know that sacrifices will have to be made at all points along the historical line, so we are not turned back for fear of this being an inconsequential action. It is resistance to unjust oppression, just as breaking the massa's hoe, crippling his mule, poisoning his food and burning his barn – not to mention moving from ambush – were resistance actions.

* * * *

We note that although we have listed as one of our demands, investigation into our respective cases, we humbly submit that it is not out of selfishness that we do so. Rather, our cases are excellent examples of how the keepers really operate in regard to those captives who refuse to relinquish their dignity and self-respect at the prison gates, and especially with regard to

progressive/revolutionary prisoners. This whole, rotten set-up must be exposed at every turn, for all the world to see.

Finally, we note that Comrade Bectemba is in imminent danger of lapsing into a coma and/or death. The keepers are fully aware of our hunger strike, and also aware of Bectemba's condition, yet no steps have been taken to resolve the matters involved. We have the utmost faith that they will take none in the future unless those of us on the outside bring massive pressure to bear on these dogs. Truly, against the will of the people, giants are powerless.

We end this communique with expressions of profound revolutionary love and heartfelt solidarity to you and to all those on the globe who are struggling against our common foe. We persevere to the end.

"POWER TO THOSE WHO DON'T FEAR FREEDOM!"

Michael E. Garnett Roosevelt Youngblood
No. 36485-118 No. 32253-019

Anthony L. Paradise
No. 32254-019

*

Lincoln Heard
P. O. Box 1000
Lewisburg, Pa. 17837

Mr. Carlson:

I greet you with respect since you are the Honorable Director of the Bureau of Prisons.

Sir, I am an Alabama State prisoner, presently confined in Lewisburg Federal prison illegally. Now, I write this on behalf of myself and three other Alabama State prisoners that wasn't properly contracted to be housed in the federal prison system by the state of Alabama. The other prisoners are — Roosevelt F. Youngblood, Anthony Paradise and Mack Montgomery, Jr.

Sir, this illegal transfer of our persons was not done properly nor with any due process and I hope that through this letter and through your Honorable and just consideration you will have us immediately transferred back to the Alabama State prison in order to save a court battle which, by the law of this constitution, we will surely win.

At approximately 3 o'clock on the morning of the 6-24-80 the warden of Kilby prison in Montgomery, Ala., four Alabama state investigators and an undetermined amount of prison guards kidnapped Roosevelt Youngblood, Anthony Paradise, Mack Montgomery Jr. and myself, Lincoln Heard, out of our cells at Kilby prison, shackled us from hands to feet and loaded us off into a station wagon driven by two of the state investigators. As we were riding along, I asked, Where are we going, Sir, but no response was given by either of the investigators. Well, we ended up in the Atlanta Federal prison and as of today we haven't heard why we were transferred to this system from any officials, federal or state. Sir, our rights have been overtly

violated by the Alabama State authorities and because of the federal system going along with this illegal act, it's my belief that this federal system has conspired with the Alabama state officials to physically annihilate us while being housed here illegally. Just to think that we were just kidnapped and thrown off into another system without a hearing or without informing us of where we were going and why, or without allowing us to notify our relatives and friends of the transfer makes me know that the Alabama State and federal prison officials has conspired together to do us some physical harm while we're being housed in the worst federal prisons there are - Marion, Terre Haute, Leavenworth and Lewisburg, the worst of the lot. Now, from the information I received we were sent here to be assassinated by the federal system because of our constant, legal and peaceful protest - against the horrendous living conditions in the Alabama prison system. Sir, if this is so, this is itself a direct violation of our first amendment rights of redress of grievances and peaceful protest. Read what the court said in Buise v. Hudkins, 584 F. 223 (7th Cir. 1978). Also check out in the Federal Reporter, 2nd series 581 page 645. Lono v Charles Fenton.

Sir, I am a prisoner which is true, but I'm also a human being and as such I have feelings and needs to be able to see my family and to be visited by the same. Yet the Alabama state authorities and federal authorities in this case has caused me and other prisoners to be transferred many miles from home and thus causing us to lose the family ties that binds a man and his family together. Sir, every man, woman and child regardless of their whereabouts need to feel the closeness of a family and even though a man be in prison he should not be illegally kidnapped for no just reason or cause - and transferred so far from his family and birthstate because then for him to get a visit is impossible especially if his family is poor like mine. Sir, in prison, family visits is meaningful towards rehabilitation as it is a form of therapy and tends to instill within the heart of the most hardened prisoner that there is someone that loves and cares for him, and this type of meaningful relationship tends to cause one to reflect back upon his or her life and causes many prisoners to strive to repent of their wrongdoings and thus get set free and lead and live a more righteous and productive life. So for the authorities to have caused my and other prisoners' persons to be illegally and unjustly transferred to the U.S. Federal prison system is violating of the procedural due process laws and is an act of arbitrariness and is non obstante. Also, by placing state prisoners in the federal system results in a serious change of confinement status. This is true because the primary rationale in this case is that a transfer constitutes: a serious change in any prisoner's status because it is a fact that after the transfer as the type that is present in this case, one is cut off from the proximity of family and friends located in the state of Alabama. That as a result of the transfer prisoners such as myself are forced to make new adjustments to a totally new environment, thus, often cause much confusion. Oh yes, read Keliher v. Mitchell, 250 F. 904 (D.C. Mass.) which should apply as it is that transferring a prisoner more than

1500 miles from the state of original confinement is illegal. Sir, I'm approximately 2,000 miles from my state of original confinement. Don't this apply to all human beings? If so, then I know you will consider this letter and order me to be sent at once back to my home state of confinement.

Thank you in advance for your time and understanding.

Respectfully submitted,

Lincoln Heard

**From One
Generation
To The Next**

COMING OF AGE

COMING OF AGE: An Introduction by the Committee for Political/Prisoners of War

Glimpse now the story of Comrade-Sister Safiya Asya Bukhari, and glimpse also the tradition of resistance waged by New Afrikan people against amerikkkan domination.

Read *Coming of Age* and become aware of the path taken by one New Afrikan woman as her youthful search for the "amerikkkan dream" led her to conscious participation in the New Afrikan Independence Movement: to the Black Panther Party; the Black Liberation Army; to capture and imprisonment as a New Afrikan Prisoner of War.

The story which describes the coming of age of Comrade-Sister Safiya is but one page from the book of New Afrikan life. This page describes the conditions which have led others before Sister Safiya to realize that decisions must be made, so that We become part of the solution to our problem.

The page reflects the conditions confronted, and the choices made, by others of Sister Safiya's generation. Some of these Comrades continue to serve the people. Some, like Comrades Twyman Myers; Zayd Malik Shakur; Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; George and Jonathan Jackson; Ronald Carter; Jake Winters; Harold Russell and Andaliwa Clark; Changa, Rema and Kimu Olugbala—and many others—have given their lives serving the people and making revolution. And others still, like Comrades Sundiata Acoli; Dhoruba Moore; Jalil Muntaqim; Nuh Washington and Herman Bell; Tarik Weusi, Walid and Ashanti; Geronimo Pratt and Ruchell Magee—and many, many others—are held captive today, like Comrade Sister Safiya, as Prisoners of War.

The maturation process We witness in Comrade-Sister Safiya Bukhari must be an example to present and future generations of New Afrikans. It is the present and future generations who must consciously make the decision to follow the example set by all those now active in the Movement who, along with Sister Safiya and all other Political/Prisoners of War, are totally committed to carrying on the New Afrikan tradition of resistance, and who stand as beacons on the hill, shining light on the path that the New Afrikan nation must take as *it* comes of age, and makes revolution.

From one generation to the next,
Build To Win The War For Independence and Socialism
Free All Political/Prisoners of War

Free The Land
All Power To The People

**COMING OF AGE:
A NEW AFRIKAN REVOLUTIONARY**

by Safiya Asya Bukhari

Greek mythology tells the story of Minos, ruler of the city of Knossus. Minos has a great labyrinth (maze) in which he keeps the Minotaur, a monster half man and half bull, whose victims were boys and girls who would make it to the center of the maze and be killed when they came face to face with the Minotaur. If an intended victim chanced to survive the encounter with the Minotaur, they perished trying to find their way out of the many intricate passages. Finally, Theseus of Athens, with the help of Ariadne, Minos' daughter, enters the labyrinth, slays the beast, and finds his way out by following the thread he had unwound as he entered.

* * * *

The maturation process is full of obstacles and entanglements for anyone, but for a New Afrikan woman in amerikkka, it has all the markings of the Minotaur's Maze. i had to say that, even though nothing as spectacular takes place in the maturation process of the average New Afrikan woman — it didn't even happen to me—but the day-to-day struggle for survival and growth reaps the same reward in the end in ten thousand different ways. The trick is to learn from each defeat, and become stronger and more determined ... think and begin to develop the necessary strategies to insure the annihilation of the beast....

i am one of a family of 10 children. My parents were strict and religious, but proud and independent. One of the strongest influences of my childhood was my mother constantly telling us to hold our heads up and be proud because We were just as good or better than everyone else, and to stand up and fight for what you believe to be right.

There was a lot of competition in my family; had to be, with 10 children (all two years apart) growing up, each trying to live up to the other or be better. We were determined not to be caught up in the rut of the ghetto. We were going to get out . . . so each of us worked on our separate goals — ten individuals — one family, in our separate world.

We believed that with the right education We could "make it"—so that's the route We took searching for the "amerikkkan dream." i was going to be a doctor.

In my second year of college i pledged for a sorority — it was here that the rose-colored glasses were cracked and rays of reality were allowed to filter in.

The sorority had decided to help "disadvantaged" children as one of our projects for the year and were trying to decide what country to work with, when one of the Sisters suggested that We work in the ghettos of New York. Personally, i'd never even thought of people in the united states being disadvantaged, but only too lazy to work and

"make it." i was in for one of the biggest rude awakenings of my life.

A few of us were sent to Harlem to investigate the situation. We talked to people on the street, in the welfare centers, from door to door, and watched them work and play, loiter on the corners and in the bars. What We came away with was a story of humiliation, degradation, deprivation and waste, that started in infancy and lasted until death . . . in too many cases, at an early age.

Even at this point, i didn't see this as affecting me personally, only as a sorority project . . . sort of a tourist who takes pity on the less fortunate.

The sorority decided to do what We could to help the children. The Black Panther Party had a Free Breakfast Program to feed the children going on. i had a daughter of my own at this point, and decided that i would put my energies into this.

i couldn't get into the politics of the Black Panther Party, but i could volunteer to feed some hungry children; you see, children deserve a start and you have to feed them for them to live to learn. It's hard to think of reading and arithmetic when your stomach's growling.

i'm not trying to tell the logic of why a Free Breakfast Program for children, but to show how i had to be slowly awakened into the reality of life and shown the inter-connection of things.

Every morning at 5:00 my daughter and i would get ready and go to the Center where i was working on the Breakfast Program — cook and serve breakfast, sometimes talk to the children about problems they were encountering and sometimes help them with their homework. Everything was going along smoothly until the number of children coming began to fall off. Finally, i began to question the children and found out that the police had been telling the parents in the neighborhood not to send their children to the Program because We were feeding them poisoned food.

It's one thing to hear about underhanded things the police do — you can ignore it then — but it's totally different when you experience it for yourself — you either lie to yourself or face it. i chose to face it and find out why the police felt it was so important to keep New Afrikan children from being fed that they told lies. i went back to the Black Panther Party and started attending some of their Community Political Education Classes.

It wasn't long after that when i was forced to make a decision about what direction i was going in politically. i was on 42nd street with a friend when we noticed a crowd gathered on the corner. In the center of the crowd was a Panther with some newspapers under his arm. Two police officers were also there. i listened to see what was going on. The police were telling ~}e Panther he couldn't sell newspapers on the corner and he was insisting that he could. Without a thought, i told the police that the Brother had a "constitutional right" to disseminate political literature anywhere, at which point the police asked for my identification and arrested the Sister and myself, along with the Brother who was selling the papers.

First Encounter With The Police

i had never been arrested before, and i was naive enough to believe that all you had to do was be honest and everything would work out all right. i was wrong again. As soon as the police got us into the back-seat of their car and pulled away from the crowd, the beastiality began to show. My friend went to say something and one of the police officers threatened to ram his nightstick up her if she opened her mouth again, and ran on in a monologue about New Afrikan (black) people. i listened and got angry....

At the 14th Precinct they separated us to search us. After the policewoman had searched me, i remember one of the male officers telling her to make sure she washed her hand so she wouldn't catch anything.

That night, i went to see my mother, explained to her about the bust and about a decision i'd made. Momma and Daddy were in the kitchen when i got there - Daddy sitting at the table and Momma cooking. i remember telling them about the bust and them saying nothing. Then i told them about how the police had acted and them still saying nothing. Then i told them that i couldn't sit still and allow the police to get away with that. i had to stand up for my rights as a human being. i remember my mother saying, ". . . if you think it's right, then do it." i went back to Harlem and pinned the Black Panther Party.

i spent the next year working with welfare mothers, Liberation Schools, talking to students, learning the reality of life in the ghettos of amerikkka and re-evaluating a lot of the things i had been taught about the "land of the free and home of the brave."

It was about this time that i quit school and went to look for a full-time job. i had education and skills but there was always something wrong. It didn't dawn on me what it was until i went to ITT and applied for a job as a receptionist-clerk, and they told me i was *over qualified*. i ended up working for my friend's mother in her beauty parlor and spent all my spare time with the Party.

By the summer of 1970 i was a full-time Party member and my daughter was staying with my mother. i was teaching some of the Political Education classes at the Party office, and had established a Liberation School in my Section of the community. i had listened to the elderly while they told me how they couldn't survive off their miserly Social Security checks-not pay rent and eat, too-so they pay their rent and eat from the dog food section of the supermarket or the garbage cans. i had listened to the middle-aged mother as she told of being evicted from her home and sleeping on a subway with her children because the welfare refused to give her help unless she signed over all the property she had, and out of desperation, fraudulently received welfare. i had watched while a mother prostituted her body to put food in the mouth of her child and another mother, mentally broken under the pressure, prostituted her eight year old child. i had seen enough of the ravages of dope, alcohol, and despair to know that a change had to be made so the world could be a better place for my child to live in.

My mother had successfully kept me ignorant to the reality of the plight of New Afrikan (black) people in amerikkka – now i had learned it for myself – but i was still to learn a harsher lesson: the plight of the slave who dares to rebel.

Turbulent Times

The year 1971 saw many turbulent times in the Black Panther Party, and changes in my life. i met and worked with many people who were to teach me and guide me: Michael (Cetewayo) Tabor of the Panther 21; Albert (Nuh) Washington, and "Lost One," who was responsible for my initial political education; Robert Webb. Cet taught me to deal principledly; Nuh taught me compassion; and Robert taught me to be firm in my convictions.

When the split went down in the Black Panther Party, i was left in a position of Communications and Information Officer for the East Coast Party. It wasn't until much later that i was to find out how vulnerable that position was.

Many of the members of the Party went underground to work with the Black Liberation Army (BLA). i was among those who elected to remain aboveground and supply necessary support. The murders of youths such as Clifford Glover, Tyrone Guyton, etc., by the police, and retaliation by the BLA with the assassination of pigs Piagentini and Jones and Rocco and Laurie, made the powers that be frantic, and they pulled out the stops in their campaign to rid the streets of rebellious slaves.

By the spring of 1973, Comrades Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli were captured, along with Nuh and Jalil (Anthony Bottoms), and Twyman Myers was on the f.b.i.'s 10 Most Wanted list, and i was still traveling back and forth across the kountry trying to build necessary support mechanisms.*

In 1972 i recognized the need for something other than myself to depend on. You see, in less than two years i'd aged to the point where i realized that nothing is permanent or secure in a world where it's who you know and what you have that counts. i'd seen friends and loved ones either killed or thrown in prison, and associates that i'd once thought would never go back, turn states or go back into the woodwork. Nuh turned me on to Islam, which gave me a new security, sense of purpose, and dignity.

By 1973 i'd begun to receive a lot of flak from the police because of what they "suspected" i might be doing. Actually it was because i didn't have a record; they couldn't catch me doing anything, and i continued to actively and vocally support the BLA members . . . also my homework had been done so well in the community, that the community's support was there, also.

Following the receipt of subpoenas to appear before a special grand jury investigating the BLA that was seated in New York in the spring of 1974, i went underground along with some other people, to function with the BLA.

On January 25, 1975, myself and some other members of the Amistad Collective of the BLA, went into the country in Virginia to

practice night firing. We were to leave Virginia that night on our way to Jackson, Mississippi, cause i wanted to be there on Sunday to see someone. We decided to stop by a store before We went back to the crib We were staying at, so We could pick up some cold cuts to make sandwiches with so We wouldn't have to stop at any restaurants. We drove around looking for an open store. When We came on to one i told the Brothers to wait in the car and i'd go and be right back.

i entered the store, went past the registers, down an aisle to the meat counter and started checking them for all-beef products. i heard a door opening and looked up to see two of the Brothers coming in — didn't give it a thought — went back to what i was doing when out of the corner of my left eye i saw a rifle pointed toward the door in the manager's hand. i quickly got into an aisle just as the firing started. Up to this point i had heard no words spoken. With the first lull in shooting, Kombozi came down the aisle toward me. He was wearing a full-length army coat. It was completely unbuttoned. As he came toward me he told me he was shot. i didn't believe him at first because i saw no blood and his weapon wasn't drawn. Then he insisted he was again, so i told him to lie down on the floor and i'll take care of it.

Masai had apparently made it back out the door when the firing started, because just then he came back to the door and tried to draw the fire so We could get out. i saw him get shot in the face and stumble backwards out the door. i looked around for a way out, and realized there was none, and elected to play it low-keyed in order to try and get help for Kombozi as soon as possible. i was to learn that the effort was wasted. The manager of the store and his son, Paul Green Sr. and Jr., stomped Kombozi to death in front of my eyes.

Later, when i attempted to press counter-charges of murder against them, the Commonwealth Attorney called it "justifiable" homicide.

Five minutes after the shoot-out went down, the f.b.i. was on the scene and the next morning they held a press conference, saying i was notorious, dangerous, etc., and known to law enforcement agencies nationwide—and my bail was set at one million dollars on each count.

Trial and Imprisonment

On April 16, 1975, after a trial that lasted one day, We were sentenced to 40 years, and on April 17, i arrived here at the Virginia Correctional Center for Women at Goochland.

Directly following my arrival i was placed in the Max Security Building and there i stayed, until after being threatened with kourt action, they released me to general population. The day after my release to general population i was told that the first iota of trouble that i caused i would be placed back in the Max Security Building and there i'd stay.

At that point and for the next two years, my emphasis was on getting some medical care for my self and the other women here and educational programs and activities; the priority being on medical care for myself. Inside the prison i was denied it (the general

feeling was they couldn't chance hospitalization for fear i'd escape; so rather than chancing my escape, they preferred to take a chance on my life). In the kourts they said they saw no evidence of inadequate medical care, but rather a difference of opinion on treatment between me and the prison doctor.

The "medical treatment" for women prisoners here in Virginia has got to be an all-time low, when you got to put your life in the hands of a "doctor" who examines a woman who has her right ovary re moved and tells her there's tenderness in her right ovary; or when this same "doctor" examines a woman who has been in prison for six months and tells her she's six weeks pregnant, and there's nothing wrong with her, and she later finds her baby has died and mortified inside her; or when he tells you you're not pregnant and three months later you give birth to a seven pound baby boy; not to mention prescribing Maalox for a sore throat and diagnosing a sore throat that turns out to be cancer.

In December of 1976 i started hemorrhaging and went to the clinic for help. No help of any conse quence was given, so i escaped. Two months later i was recaptured. While on escape i was told by a doctor that i could either endure the situation, take pain killers, or have surgery. i decided to use the lack of medical care as my defense for the escape and by doing so do two things: (1) expose the level of medical c are at the prison and l2) put pressure on them to give me the care i needed.

i finally got to the hospital in June of 1978. By that time it was too late. i was so messed up inside that everything but one ovary had to go, because of the negligence of the "doctor" and lack of feeling of the prison officials (they didn't give a damn). i was forced to have a hysterectomy.

When they brought me back to this prison in March of 1977 because of the escape, they placed me in Cell 5 on the segregation end of the Maximum Security Building — the same room they placed me in on April 17, 1975. To date, i'm still in that cell, allegedly because of my escape, but in actuality because of my politics.

How do i know? Because since my being returned to this institution on March 24, 1977, other women have escaped and been brought back and have been released to general population—and yesterday my co-defendant on the escape charge was okayed for release to general population. i was denied.

Despite all of the emotional and physical setbacks i've experienced, i've learned a lot. i've watched the oppressor play that same old game on black people they've been playing for centuries—divide and conquer. Black women break under the pressure and sell their men down the river and then separate them from their children. In two strokes they do more damage than 30 years in prison could have done if the women had supported their men.

And now, more than ever before, black women—New Afrikan women — have developed a mer cenary outlook on life. They are not about Family, Community, and us as a People anymore. They're about looking good, having fun and "making it." Women's liberation is what they're about, failing to grasp the realization that true women's liberation

for black women will only come about with the liberation of black people as a whole, so that for the first time since our forefathers were snatched from the Afrikan continent and brought to amerikkka as slave labor, We can have a Family, and from that Family build a Community and a Nation.

The powers that be were totally disconcerted when black mothers, wives, daughters and black women in general, stood by and in a lot of cases, fought beside their men, when they were captured, shot or victimized by the police and other agents of the government. They were frightened of the potential to wreak havoc that black women represented when black women began to enter into the prisons and jails in efforts to liberate their men. They were spurred into action when they were confronted with the fact that black women were educating their children from the cradle up, who the real enemies of black people are, and what must be done to eliminate this ever-present threat to the lives of black people.

During the last four years of my incarceration i've watched and didn't speak because i didn't want to chance alienating the "left," as black men and black women have fooled themselves into believing that We were "making progress" because (1) Patricia Harris, a black woman, is part of the u.s. president's cabi net, and (2) Andrew Young is the ambassador to the UN—failing to realize that it's all politics—ameri kkkan style. And, twenty women of all races are working together for Women's Liberation. There is no real progress being made. As a matter of fact, one of Carter's best friends, Vernon Jordan, had to concede in his annual economic review, the State of Black Amerikkka, 1979, that '-the income gap between blacks and whites is actually widening."

The sacrifices black women have made in search of black womanhood, like the sacrifices made by the people of Knossus in its efforts to slay the Minotaur, have been many, harsh and cruel—but We too can slay the beast (in-our case, amerikkkan racism, capitalism, and sexism), and out of the ashes build a free and independent Black Nation in which We can take our rightful place as Women, Wives, and Mothers, knowing our children will live to be men and women, and our men will be allowed to recognize their manhood—support and defend their families with dignity.

TOGETHER BUILDING A FUTURE FOR OURSELVES!

Build To Win!

Coming of Age: An Update

It's two years since i wrote the original article . . . lots of things have happened . . . Assata Shakur was liberated; Imari Obadele was released.... the Ku Klux Klan regrouped and revamped; 16 black chil dren are missing and presumed to be dead in Atlanta; 8 black men murdered in Buffalo; pregnant black women shot in Chattanooga; Ronald Reagan will take office in 2 days.

It's two months since i was released from the Maximum Security

Building . . . had to go to kourt to do it . . . it too was an eye opening experience . . . they said the reason they were keeping me housed in that building was because i was a "threat to the security of the free world."

What can i say? It seems that the political scene in amerikkka has come full circle, and black people are once again the scapegoats for everything that goes wrong in white amerikkka. They no longer feel the need to pacify us with poverty programs and token jobs.

Sitting in a Maximum Security cell for 3 years and 7 months afforded me an opportunity to reflect upon my life and the lessons i was forced to learn . . . but now the learning process is over . . . it is time to put what i've learned into practice . . . freedom will only be won by the sweat of our brows.

*On November 2, 1979, Comrade-Sister Assata Shakur was liberated from Clinton Women's Prison, and continues to carry on the struggle in clandestinity.

On Transforming the Colonial and "Criminal" Mentality

Revolutions are fought to get control of land, to remove the absentee landlord and gain control of the land and the institutions that flow from that land. The black man has been in a very low condition because he has had no control whatsoever over any land. He has been a beggar economically, a beggar politically, a beggar socially, a beggar even when it comes to trying to get some education. The past type of mentality that was developed in this colonial system among our people, today is being overcome. And as the young ones come up, they know what they want (land!). And as they listen to your beautiful preaching about democracy and all those other flowery words, they know what they're supposed to have (land!)

So you have a people today who not only know what they want, but also know what they are supposed to have. *And they themselves are creating another generation* that is coming up that not only will know what it wants and know what it should have but also will be ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately. --

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X),
"The Black Revolution,"
from *Malcolm X Speaks*

During a conversation with a Comrade , the movie *Battle of Algiers* was mentioned, within the context of using that film as a way of making a comment on the present and probable direction that many prisoners are taking and that many more will take, in the escalating class and national liberation struggles inside u.s. borders.

An apology is made in advance, should We make errors in our recollection of events taking place in the film, or the order of their appearance.

In the opening scene, or, in one of the early scenes, the setting is a prison, and the principal character was, We believe, portrayed as Ali Aponte.

Ali Aponte was an Algerian who had entered the prison as a "common criminal," or a "bandit," --and was then in the process of being politicized, and of politically educating himself. He was being approached by a revolutionary -- a Prisoner of War -- who had noticed Ali's strong sense of nationalism and his revolutionary *potential*; thus, his *potential* of becoming a Revolutionary Nationalist, rather than his remaining a bandit, a criminal, or a "lumpen" with nationalist *sentiments*, an *emotional commitment* to nationalism.

We know this already sounds familiar to many: "I've been in

rebellion all my life. Just didn't know it." (Comrade-Brother George Jackson.) And, "For a young New Afrikan ("black") growing up in the ghetto, the first rebellion is always crime."

A clear distinction must be drawn between "rebellion" and "revolution," because unless this is done, We become confused in our thought and our actions. Arriving at clarity on this and other issues is a necessary aspect of transforming the criminal, and the colonial, mentality.

We can rebel against something, without necessarily "rebellng" or *making revolution* for something. A rebellion is generally an "attack" upon those who rule -- but it is an "attack" which is spontaneous, short-lived, and without the purpose of replacing those who rule.

Rebellions bring into question the *methods* of those who rule, but stop short of actually calling into question their very right to rule, without calling into question the entire authority and the foundation upon which that authority or "legitimacy" rests.

We rebel as a means of exposing intolerable conditions and treatment, but We seek to have someone other than ourselves change these conditions, and to change the *treatment*, rather than to assume responsibility ourselves for our whole lives. A rebellion essentially wants to "end bad housing," have "full employment" and "end police brutality and change prison conditions," etc. -- to *reform* the system, and leave the power to make these reforms in the hands of the massa.

A revolution, on the other hand, seeks not merely to reform the system, but to completely overthrow it, and to place the power for overthrowing it, and the power for running the new system that is established, in the hands of the revolutionary masses. Thus the slogan, "All Power To The People!"

"It is hard to go beyond rebellion to revolution in this kountry because of the widespread belief that revolutions can be made as simply and instantly as one makes coffee. Therefore the tendency is to engage in acts of adventurism or confrontation which the rebels believe will bring down the system quickly. It is always much easier for the oppressed to undertake an adventuristic act on impulse than to undertake a protracted revolutionary struggle. A protracted revolutionary struggle requires that the oppressed masses acquire what they never start out with -- confidence in their ability to win a revolution. Without that confidence, the tendency of many militants is toward martyrdom, in the hope that their death may at least become an inspiration to others...

"Revolutionary thinking begins with a series of illuminations. It is not just plodding along according to a list of axioms. Nor is it leaping from peak to peak...

"...A revolution...initiates a new plateau, a new threshold...but it is still situated on the continuous line between past and future. It is the result of both long preparation and a profoundly new, a profoundly original beginning. Without a long period of maturing, no profound change can take place. But every profound change is at the same time a sharp break with the past...

"What is the relation between wants and thoughts? Between wants and needs? Between masses and revolutionists? Masses have wants which are not necessarily related to human needs. Revolutionists must have thoughts about human needs. They cannot just rely on the spontaneous outbursts of the masses over their wants. A revolutionist must absorb and internalize the lives, the passions, and the aspirations of great revolutionary leaders and not just those of the masses. It is true that revolutionary leadership can only come from persons in close contact with the masses in movement and with a profound conviction of the impossibility of profound change in (a new) society without the accelerated struggle of the masses. But leaders cannot get their thoughts only from the movement of the masses.

"A revolution begins with those who are revolutionary, exploring and enriching their notion of a 'new man/woman' and projecting the notion of this 'new man/woman' into which each of us can transform ourselves.

"The first transformation begins with those who recognize and are ready to assume the responsibility for reflecting on our experiences and the experiences of other revolutionary men and women. Thus the first transformation can begin with our own re-thinking. That is why We believe it is so crucial that before We undertake to project the perspectives for (New Afrikan) revolution, We review what previous revolutions of our epoch have meant in the evolution of man/womankind. As We study these revolutions, the first thing We shall learn is that all the great revolutionists have projected a concept of revolution to the masses. They did not just depend on the masses or the movement of their day for their idea of what should be done. They evaluated the state of the world and their own society. They internalized the most advanced ideas about human development which had been arrived at on a world scale. They projected a vision of what a revolution would mean in their own society. They analyzed the different social forces within their country carefully to ascertain which forces could be mobilized to realize this vision. They carried on ideological struggle against those who were not ready to give leadership to the masses or who were trying to lead them in the wrong direction. Only then did they try to lead their own masses..."

The failure to make a similar distinction between a *rebellion* and *revolution* is what prevents many bloods from recognizing, and then making, the transformation from Captive Colonials to Political Prisoners, and prevents those outside the walls from making the transformation from colonial subjects to conscious citizens and active cadres.

It prevents us from consciously and systematically "bringing up a new generation" who know the difference between New Afrikan reform and rebellion, and New Afrikan revolution. It prevents us from consciously and systematically creating New Afrikan *revolutionary* leadership, to lead a *revolutionary* movement, as opposed to new forms of "civil rights" struggles under bourgeois leadership, for bourgeois ends.

It prevents us from making a class analysis of the forces inside

our own neo-colonized nation, so that We can carefully ascertain exactly which forces can be mobilized to realize the vision of a New Afrikan revolution.

More of Comrade-Brother George Jackson's words are familiar to us: "Prisons are not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations..."And, "We must educate the people in the real causes of economic crimes. They must be made to realize that even crimes of passion are the psycho-social effects of an economic order that was decadent a hundred years ago. All crime can be traced to objective socio-economic conditions -- socially productive or counter-productive activity. In all cases, it is determined by the economic system, the method of economic organization..."

Many prisoners, and many people outside the walls -- many Political Prisoners and even some POW's -- have, We believe, not taken the interpretation of the above words far enough. We feel this way because many Comrades have based many of their beliefs and positions on the "inherent" revolutionary capacity of "lumpen" on their understanding of the above-quoted statements. We tend to overlook the fact that Comrade George was making a broad analysis, describing objective factors and presenting a general ideological perspective. The grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, and the "crime" that results from it, does not automatically make us revolutionaries.

The real causes of crime are not necessarily -- not of themselves -- the causes of commitments to revolutionary struggle. Objective economic conditions, the method of economic organization, are not of themselves factors which inspire and/or cement conscious activity in revolutionary nationalist People's War.

Comrade George described the *objective* set of conditions -- the economic *basis* of "crime" -- and he recognized that he had been *objectively* in "rebellion" all his life. But he also said "Just didn't know it." He wasn't *aware* of his acts as being forms of *rebellion*. He wasn't *conscious* of himself as a "victim of social injustice." And, he wasn't *consciously* directing his actions toward the destruction of the enemy.

I met Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engels, and Mao...and they
redeemed me. For the first four years, I studied nothing but
economics and military ideas. I met the black
guerrillas, George "Big Jake" Lewis, and James Carr, W.C.
Nolen, Bill Christmas, Tony Gibson and many others. We attempted
to transform the black criminal mentality into a black
revolutionary mentality.

And Comrades asked, in the past, "What is the difference between

these mentalities?" primarily because it was hard to see the difference, and it had been assumed that there was no difference between the "lumpen" and the "outlaw" or the revolutionary. Some bloods simply want the "lumpen" to be the outlaw, the revolutionary, and some say that this is what "George said." George said that the revolutionary was a lawless man, because revolution is illegal in amerikkka. Thus, the revolutionary, the "outlaw" and "the lumpen" would make the revolution...Some bloods read revolutionary actuality into the potentiality alluded to by George in his analysis of the economic basis of crime. This is also related to the "learning by rote" of Marxism-Leninism, and to the overemphasis of the "economics of Marxism" and failure to grasp the significance of the "conscious element."

The materialist doctrine that men are the products of circumstances and education, that changed men are therefore the products of other circumstances and of a different education, forgets that circumstances are in fact changed by men and that the educator himself must be educated. (Marx)

Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world...Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. (Mao)

In order for us to know Ali Aponte today as an Algerian revolutionary, he had to become politicized, consciously joining with the Algerian F.L.N., and point his guns at the enemies of the Algerian people.

The employment of the skills he acquired and sharpened as a "bandit" continued to "violate the law" of the colonial state -- but the difference was fundamental.

Aponte's previous violations of the colonialist state's law were violations of an individual, for personal gain. But more important, they were seen even by him at that stage as true "violations of law" because the "law" and the state that it upheld were still recognized by Aponte as being legitimate. He was a "criminal" because he still saw himself as a "criminal" within the definition and the practice of colonialist oppression. This is an aspect of the "criminal" and the colonial mentality: continued recognition and acceptance of the legitimacy of colonial rule; to continue to feel that the colonial state has a right to rule over the colonized.

For every system of state and law, and the capitalist system above all, exists in the last analysis because its survival, and the validity of its statutes, are simply accepted (by the colonized)...The *isolated* violation of those statutes does not represent any particular danger to the state *as long as such infringements figure in the general consciousness merely as isolated cases*. Dostoyevsky has noted in his Siberian reminiscences

how every criminal feels himself to be guilty

(without necessarily feeling any remorse). He understands with perfect clarity that he has broken laws that are no less valid for him than for everyone else. And these laws retain their validity even when personal motives or the force of circumstances have induced him to violate them.

- George Lukacs, "Legality and Illegality,"
*History and Class Consciousness: Studies In
Marxist Dialectics*

When We break this down more, We see that key phrases are those pointing to the *isolated* violations of the oppressive state's law -- isolated violations because they do not represent a danger to the oppressive state. And they do not represent a danger to the oppressive state because they continue to "figure in the general consciousness merely as isolated cases." Now, "general consciousness" represents both the general consciousness of individuals, who have not yet come to recognize the oppressive state as illegitimate, and it represents the general consciousness of the masses of the oppressed. Because We continue to regard the masses as a legitimate, rightful authority, We continue to feel that the laws it imposes upon us are laws "that are no less valid for us than for anyone else." This is why We can feel guilty, without feeling remorse -- the lack of remorse stemming from the "bad conditions" We know to exist, which becomes the reformist-oriented "rebellious tendency." As long as We continue to see the oppressive state as legitimate ruler, even the circumstances and personal motives which push us toward "crime" continue to be isolated cases, presenting no danger to the foundations of the oppressive state, and offering no benefits toward the struggle for independence and socialism.

This "criminal/colonial" mentality was similarly described by Comrade-Sister Assata Shakur: "I am sad when I see what happens to women who lose their strength. They see themselves as bad children who expect to be punished because they have not, in some way, conformed to the conduct required of 'good children' in the opinion of prison guards. Therefore, when they are 'punished' they feel absolution has been dealt and they are again in the 'good graces' of the guards. Approval has been given by the enemy, *but the enemy is no longer recognized as an enemy*. The enemy becomes the maternal figure patterning their lives. It's like a plantation in prison. You can see the need for a revolution. Clearly..."

Before Comrade George met Marx and the black guerrillas, *his* mentality was best characterized as "criminal." It was only after he was "redeemed" that he was able to see himself as a victim of social injustice; that he was able to know that his past "criminal" acts had been an embryonic form of rebellion, had constituted a *tendency* and *potential* for undermining the oppressive state's "authority," its prestige, the "legitimacy" of its law, and to overthrow it.

The prestige of power as the subjective effect of a past deed
or reputation, real or fancied, then has a very definite life

process. The prestige of the capitalist class inside the u.s. reached its maturity with the close of the 1860-1864 civil war. Since that time there have been no serious threats to their power; their excesses have taken on a certain legitimacy through long usage.

Prestige bars any serious attack on power. Do people attack a thing they consider with awe, with a sense of its legitimacy?

In the process of things, the prestige of power emerges roughly in that period when power does not have to exercise its underlying basis -- violence. Having proved and established itself, it drifts, secure from any serious challenge. Its automatic defense-attack instincts remain alert; small threats are either ignored away, laughed away, or in the cases that may build into something dangerous, slapped away. To the masters of capital, the most dreadful omen of all is revolutionary scientific socialism. The gravedigger evokes fear response. Prestige wanes if the first attacks on its power base find it wanting. Prestige dies when it cannot prevent further attacks upon itself.

-- Comrade-Brother George Jackson

To kill the prestige of the oppressive state, is, first of all, to kill the image of its legitimacy in the minds of the people. To transform the criminal mentality, and the colonial mentality, into a revolutionary mentality, is to destroy within the minds of the people the sense of awe in which they hold the oppressive state.

For Comrade George to become first the Political Prisoner, and then a Prisoner of War, he had to move beyond the mere understanding of the objective economic law and its relationship to "crime"; he had to begin *applying* his knowledge of revolutionary activity aimed toward changing the world, toward changing these objective economic laws and eradicating their effect upon the people. We know George today as a revolutionary because he educated himself and then went on to change existing circumstances.

If We were to leave the objective analysis/understanding of the economic basis of "crime" and proceed no further, We end up legitimizing the dope pushers in our communities, the pimps and other backward, reactionary elements who engage in such activity because of the circumstances caused by the present economic order. We can't continue to say "the devil made me do it." If We don't move beyond an explanation of objective socio-economic conditions, and consequently don't move beyond the acceptance of "criminal" activity on the part of "lumpen" as somehow honorable and inherently revolutionary, simply because they reflect the present state of property relations, what We will end up doing is condoning those relations in practice if not in words. We will end up accepting the ideology behind those relations as well.

Revolution within a modern industrial capitalist society can only mean the overthrow of all existing property relations and the destruction of all institutions that *directly* or *indirectly* support the existing property relations. It must include the total suppression of all *classes* and *individuals* who *endorse* the present state of property relations or who *stand to gain from it*. Anything less than this is reform.

And this applies not only to those who rule, to the monopoly capitalist, the world-runners. It applies to "lumpen" as well:

Actually, for those who are not incorporated into the system, for whatever reasons, (capitalist) society provides its own alternative -- organized crime. In the ghetto this alternative is legitimized by the fact that so many people are forced to engage in at least petty illegal activity in order to secure a living income. The pervasiveness of the lucrative numbers racket and dope peddling rings further enhances organized criminality in the eyes of ghetto youth. Social scientists have observed that the role of criminal is one model to which such youth can reasonably aspire. It provides a realistic "career objective," certainly more realistic than hoping to become a diplomat or a corporation executive. Consequently, many ghetto youths turn to illegal activity -- car thievery, pimping prostitution, housebreaking, gambling, dope pushing, etc. -- as a way of earning an income. Those who don't turn to crime still come into contact with and are affected by the mystique of organized crime, a mystique which is widespread in the ghetto. This mystique asserts that it is possible to spit in the face of the major legal and moral imperatives of (amerikkkan capitalist) society and still be a financial success and achieve power and influence.

To the extent that the Panthers were successful in penetrating the hard core of the ghetto and recruiting black youth, it would seem that they would be forced to confront the social implications of organized crime and its meaning for black liberation. They were well equipped to do this, since many of their own activists and leaders -- such as Cleaver -- were ex-criminals. Cleaver did attempt to present such an analysis shortly before he disappeared from public view...but he did not take his analysis far enough and consequently his conclusions only served to confuse the matter further.

Numerous sociological studies have shown that in many respects organized crime is only the reverse side of amerikkkan business. It provides desirable -- though proscribed -- goods and services, which are not available to the public through "normal" business channels. And, although there is much public ranting against crime, organized crime -- and it must be organized to succeed as a business -- enjoys a certain degree of immunity from prosecution due to the collusion of police and public officials. Moreover, organized crime constantly seeks -- as would any good corporation -- to expand and even legitimize its own power, *but it has no serious motive to revamp the*

present social structure because it is that structure, with all its inherent flaws and contradictions, which provides a climate in which organized crime can flourish. Hence, it comes as no surprise that in at least one major riot (in Baltimore) police recruited local criminals to help quell the rebellion. The criminals gladly collaborated with the cops because heavy looting during the riot had seriously depressed prices for stolen goods and otherwise disrupted the illegal business operations upon which the criminals depended for their livelihood.

Cleaver in his analysis, however, misread the social function of organized crime. In speeches and articles, he voiced approval of such underworld notables as Al Capone and Machine Gun Kelly on the grounds that their criminal activities were instrumental in building the present power of ethnic groups such as the Italians and the Irish. He concluded that beneath the public facade there is a history of intense struggle for ethnic group power in the urban centers of amerikkka, and that organized criminal activity has played an important part in advancing the status of various groups. But Cleaver failed

to note that organized crime has sought to advance itself *totally within the framework of the established society*. It seeks more power for itself, and as a side effect it may bring more money into the hands of this or that ethnic group, but *organized crime is far from being a revolutionary force*. On the contrary, *its social function is to provide an informally sanctioned outlet for impulses that officially are outlawed (like revolution)*. It thereby acts to *uphold and preserve* the present social order.

Cleaver's analysis, to the extent that it reflected Panther thinking, revealed the organization's uncertainty about its objectives. This problem stemmed from an inadequate analysis of the manifold ways in which the amerikkkan social structure absorbs and neutralizes dissent...

Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening In Capitalist America*

There is a scene/sequence in *Battle of Algiers* where Ali Aponte, the ex-criminal, the revolutionary nationalist and member of the F.L.N., confronts "lumpen"/criminal elements who are "surviving the best way they know how" -- under the existing circumstances. Ali makes this confrontation in accordance with the F.L.N. view that a weak and disorganized, demoralized and diseased people cannot successfully attack and defeat the enemy.

The pimps, dope pushers and otherwise backward elements were asked, warned, encouraged to find other means of "survival" -- means which would be more in tune with the needs and direction of the people, and the national liberation struggle. The backward elements refused, resisted the transformation of their mentalities, and thus placed themselves squarely in the path of the nation's progress. Ali Aponte responded to this refusal, to this blocking of progress and national salvation, with a short burst from his Thompson.

What We've said about the need for conscious awareness and conscious activity, in order for there to be a transformation of the "criminal" and colonial mentalities, into revolutionary mentality, also applies to the definition of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

We think that Howard Moore's definition of Political Prisoners, as quoted by Comrade-Brother George Jackson in *Blood In My Eye*, is insufficient:

All black people, wherever they are, whatever their crimes, even crimes against other blacks, are political prisoners because the system has dealt with them differently than with whites. Whitey gets the benefit of every law, every loophole, and the benefit of being judged by his peers -- other white people. Black people don't get the benefit of any such jury trial by peers. Such a trial is almost a cinch to result in the conviction of a black person, and it's a conscious political decision that blacks don't have those benefits...

This definition is cool for helping to explain the colonial relationship that blacks have to amerikkka -- as a people. But it fails to lay out the true, proper, and necessary criteria for Political Prisoners: *Practice* is that criteria. On the bottom line, Political Prisoners are revolutionaries; they are conscious and active servants of the people. Political Prisoners direct their energies toward the enemies of the people -- they do not commit "crimes" against the people.

We say that Moore's definition -- and any similar definition -- is insufficient because it simply defines the situation of New Afrikan ("black") people vis-a-vis the oppressive state. The definition says that all New Afrikan people -- the whole New Afrikan nation -- have a particular political relationship to amerikkka which is clearly separate and distinct from the political relationship that white people share with their government and its institutions. But this definition is insufficient from the perspective of a theory put forth by the nation, with the aim of building consciousness and providing a guide in the successful execution of a struggle for national liberation. In developing and spreading such a theory, it becomes necessary to analyze "the different social forces within (the nation) carefully, to ascertain which forces can be mobilized to realize the vision of a New Society."

In *Book Two* of the *Journal*, the following position was put forth in regard to Captive Colonials, Political Prisoners, and Prisoners of War:

"Moving to define Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War must also be within the context of national liberation revolution. Remembering that We're in the process of freeing and *Building* a

nation.

"The first and major problem We run into is the present tendency to view *all* Afrikan prisoners as Political Prisoners. There are reasons why many or most of us say that *all* Afrikans (in prison) are PP's or POW's. Some folks start from the fact of our kidnapping and enslavement more than three centuries ago, and the continuous struggle to break de chains. Some folks deal with the fact of 'objective socio-economic conditions,' and trace the 'cause of all crime' to this source. By this means, to say that 'political-economic' circumstances make all those who become a 'victim' of them, automatic Political Prisoners and/or Prisoners of War. Still others point to the enemy 'criminal justice system,' which deals with Afrikans in ways different from whites.

"The point is that all these definitions simply point out the objective colonial relationship.

"The objective existence of Afrikan peoples' enslavement over three centuries ago don't alone make for *national liberation*. The objective conditions of the socio-economics of our neo-colonial status don't alone make for *building* a nation. The objective reality of a 'criminal justice system' which operates throughout the empire, and touches neo-colonial subjects as well as the oppressed inside the mother kountry, but treats the oppressor nation nationals differently from those of the oppressed nation, don't alone make for the independence and socialist development of New Afrika.

"What We got to see more clearly is that, while all colonial subjects are 'the same,' vis-a-vis the oppressor, one of the requirements for genuine and successful national liberation revolution is the making of an analysis of the oppressed nation's social structure. The conditions that *all* Afrikans in amerikkka experience are essentially and objectively colonial. But this doesn't mean that all Afrikan people have the same revolutionary capacity or inclination.

"When We define *all* Afrikan prisoners as Political Prisoners and/or POW's, We *aren't* really defining 'Political Prisoners' -- We're simply *defining Afrikan prisoners as colonial subjects* -- *captured* colonial subjects.

"Plain and simply: our objective status as colonial subjects gives the political content to our entire lives, our overall condition and experiences. Yeah, all Afrikans are POW's and PP's, whether inside or outside of prison -- *if* We simply deal from our status as a neo-colonized nation. But in dealing in this way, We *only* see ourselves as opposed to the oppressor, and the implications of this view are that We only perceive a re-form of the oppressor's system, so that We'll be treated 'the same' and with 'equality' with the oppressor and the masses in the oppressor nation. Such a view is not revolutionary, and runs counter to other ideo-theoretical and political lines rooted in a colonial perspective, and aim toward independence and state power -- the building of a nation, based on class analysis of the colonized people."

If We continue to see nothing but "*all* Afrikans are POW's and

PP's," We'll end up struggling *against* imperialism, but not necessarily *for* national liberation. Saying that *all* Afrikans are "political prisoners" is, if the truth be told, an essentially idealist and bourgeois nationalist position. It would allow stool-pigeons and all kinds of backward and reactionary elements to claim the status of Political Prisoners and even of POW's, simply by pointing out that they are in amerikkka against their will, had their culture destroyed, etc. Such a position actually liquidates the politics behind the status of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, thus, in the same process, liquidating the politics behind the struggle for national liberation.

All New Afrikans in amerikkka are members of an oppressed nation, which in itself is "political," and lends automatic political meaning to the conditions suffered by us all, whether in prison or out. But the recognition of the political significance that our colonial status has, does not define revolutionary nationalist consciousness or practice.

Recognizing objective colonial status is the point of departure, but We won't begin the journey of nation building without an analysis of our own internal, neo-colonial, social structure. Just as We see the need for class analysis to take place outside the walls, the same analysis must take place for those inside the kamps.

Thus We say that in making our analysis of the nation, and in focusing particularly on those of us inside the kamps, We see three sectors: the Captured Colonials, the Political Prisoner, and the Prisoner of War.

The Captured Colonials are the mass, general prison populations which Afrikans comprise. The simple status of a 20th century slave gives political character and significance to us all. But it doesn't determine whether that political character and significance will be good or bad -- for the nation and the struggle.

The New Afrikan nation in amerikkka was formed because of and during the battles with europeans in which We lost our independence. During our enslavement the many nations and tribes from the Continent shared one history, developed essentially one consciousness, acquired objectively one destiny -- all as a result of the suffering We all experienced as a dominated New...Afrikan nation.

"...But so far as the struggle is concerned, it must be realized that it is not the degree of suffering and hardship involved as such that matters: even extreme suffering in itself does not necessarily produce the *prise de conscience* required for the national liberation struggle." (Amilcar Cabral, *Revolution In Guinea*)

While the "criminal" acts of all Afrikans are the results of our general economic, political and social relationships to the oppressive, imperialist state, there is no automatic, unquestionable revolutionary nationalist capacity and consciousness.

If We say that "crime" is a "reflection of the present state of property relations," then We must also say that for us, these relations are those between a dominated nation and its oppressor and exploiter. The method of economic organization which governs our

lives is an *imperialist*, a *neo-colonialist* method. Altho this colonial system is structured so as to force many of us to take what We need in order to survive, and altho there are conscious political decisions made by the oppressor, once We find ourselves in the grips of his "criminal justice system," it must also be seen that a *conscious political decision* must also be made on the part of the colonial subject before his acts can have a *subjective, functional political meaning within the context of the national liberation struggle*.

Put another way: if the "criminal" acts of Afrikans are the results of a "grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege," which stems from our status as a dominated, neo-colonized nation, then the only way to prevent crime among us is to make a conscious decision to liberate the nation and establish among ourselves a more equitable distribution of wealth and privilege.

Thus, We see Captured Colonials.

For us, the Political Prisoner is one who has made and who acts on a conscious political decision to change the present state of property relations. Altho the Political Prisoner and the Prisoner of War levels of thought and practice sometimes over-lap, We use the element of organized revolutionary violence to distinguish between them -- organized revolutionary violence of a distinct military type.

Political Prisoners are those arrested, framed, and otherwise imprisoned because of relatively peaceful political activity against the oppressive conditions of the people. Political Prisoners are also those Captured Colonials inside the walls who have adopted a "revolutionary mentality" and become politically active. Activity on the part of PP's behind the walls results in denial of release, punitive transfers, harassment and brutality, long periods of isolation, close censorship of mail and visits, behavior modification attempts, and even assassination at the hands of prison administrators, who sometimes employ reactionary prisoners to do their jobs for them.

We regard as Prisoners of War those Afrikans who have been imprisoned as a result of their having taken up arms or otherwise engaged in acts of organized revolutionary violence in its military form, against the u.s. imperialist state. The act of expropriation, acts of sabotage, intelligence and counter-intelligence activities, and support activities when directly linked to acts of military organized violence and/or organized groups which are part of the "armed front." Also, those activities of an overt or covert nature which are linked to the actions of armed people's defense units -- those New Afrikans involved in such activities and imprisoned because of them, are considered as Prisoners of War.

We also regard as Prisoners of War those Captured Colonials and Political Prisoners who consciously commit acts of military organized revolutionary violence while behind the walls, as well as those who join or form organizations which are or will become part of the organized "armed front" and/or part of the armed people's defense

units of the "mass front."

"Prestige bars any serious attack on power. Do people attack a thing they consider with awe, with a sense of its legitimacy?"

While destroying the legitimacy of the enemy, We must establish our own! The allegiance of the people must pass from the enemy state to the New Afrikan.

Ali Aponte's "military" activity was political activity -- was inspired by, complemented, and was guided by the politics of the F.L.N., was guided by the new revolutionary nationalist theory and practice of the emerging Algerian People's State.

Ali could make no *serious* attack on the power of the colonialist state until its prestige had been destroyed. And this destruction of the colonialist state's prestige and its substitution by the prestige, the legitimacy, of the people's state -- this does not take place all at once, but is a process; it builds in stages. Decreeing that dope pushers must find other means of survival is a part of the process. Enforcing the decree is part of the process. Satisfying the needs of the people, involving the people in the actual control of their own lives, moving with the people in seizing and using and further developing control of the productive forces and means of production is the process in its essence.

Ali Aponte's elimination of pimps and dope pushers was the fulfillment of a "state function." When Ali abandoned his "criminal mentality" and became a conscious revolutionary cadre, he became one of the most responsible members of the revolutionary people's state.

Ali Aponte, ex-bandit, aspiring revolutionary, was formally politicized in prison, made a general commitment to the people, a particular commitment to the F.L.N. -- both of which had to first base themselves on a commitment to himself.

We come to a scene in the film where We see Ali after his release from prison, about to carry out an order, using his "skills" for the first time in the conscious commission of a revolutionary, rather than a "criminal"/personal, act.

In brief, Ali has been told to walk in a certain place, at a certain time, where he'll be met by a Sister carrying a piece inside a basket. He's to approach the Sister, take the piece, and approach a dog from behind and render a bit of criticism. Then he's to return the piece to the Sister's basket, and then space.

But, rather than follow these instructions, Ali takes the piece and jumps in front of the dog, waving the piece and running off at the mouth. When Ali's lungs are tired and his ego satisfied, he pulls the trigger only to learn that the piece is empty.

Ali had been tested -- a test which revealed more than it was designed to.

There are many factors involved in the process of successful

revolutionary struggle, a successful party or organization. Only two of these factors are discipline and security. Discipline and security are concerns of parties and organizations, but parties and organizations are composed of individuals. What happens to each individual in the party or organization happens to the entire body, and vice versa. When Ali went back and screamed on comrades for giving him an empty piece, it was pointed out to him that the issue was not the empty piece, but Ali's failure to follow orders. This failure to follow orders endangered Ali, the Sister, and in effect, endangered the entire organization.

Of course, in a general sense, any failure to follow instructions demonstrates a lack of one or a combination of several things. In this case, We think Ali demonstrated that his commitment to himself, the people, and the organization was, at that point in time, still primarily emotional. When he jumped in front of the dog, he did so because he wanted to be seen. For him, at that point, his commitments were based heavily on the fact that the colonialists wouldn't "see him as a man, as a human being," and he wanted to be heard, to be recognized -- *by the oppressor!* As slaves, colonial subjects, We tend not to feel worthy unless the oppressor in some way acknowledges our existence. When Ali jumped in front of the dog, he demonstrated that emotionalism in commitments is one of the major hindrances in the development of the degree of sophistication We need for success. He demonstrated that, at that point, the struggle for him was not yet a struggle for power, a struggle for self-government, and for seizure of property.

Tests of the kind mentioned here, as well as other kinds, will continue to be necessary. An understanding of, and a practice of discipline and adequate security are things that more attention should have been devoted to before Ali was released from prison. More attention should have been devoted to ridding Ali of his emotional commitments and related lingerings of a colonial mentality.

We see this in Algeria, but most of us see it better in places like Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Zimbabwe: Cadre are sent to training schools. PAIGC cadre spent years in their school in Conakry before they returned and began their work with the people. In other countries where national liberation struggles were and are taking place, the leading bodies in these struggles had schools established inside and outside the country where ideological and military training took place. ZANU cadre were so trained in Tanzania; our cadres are being and will be trained in places like Stateville, Trenton, San Quentin, Attica and Angola, La.; our cadres are in what We must consciously recognize as training schools in Bedford Hills, Jackson, Terre Haute, Dwight, Atlanta and Alderson and all other prisons and jails in amerikkka.

As Comrade-Brother Sundiata Acoli has reminded us: "The jails (and prisons) are the Universities of the Revolutionaries and the finishing schools of the Black Liberation Army. Come, Brothers and Sisters, and meet Assata Shakur. She is holding seminars in 'Getting Down,' 'Taming the Paper Tiger,' and 'The Selected Works of Zayd Malik Shakur.' So Brothers and Sisters, do not fear jail (and

prison). Many of you will go anyway -- ignorance will be your crime. Others will come -- awareness their only crime." (Sundiata Acoli, "From the Bowels of the Beast: A Message," from *Break De Chains*)

The prisons and our communities must establish "cadre training centers." There must be planned, systematic programs to meet us when We arrive behind the walls. "Seminars" are part of a well-thought-out, concretized curriculum. Organized.

"The 'Prison Movement,' the August 7th Movement, and all similar efforts educate the people in the *illegitimacy* of the establishment power and *hint* at the ultimate goal of revolutionary consciousness at every level of struggle. The goal is always the same: the creation of an infrastructure capable of fielding a people's army."

From one generation to the next,

**Build To Win The War!
For Independence and Socialism!
All Power To The People!**

Carry On The Tradition

IN THE SPIRIT OF FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK: CARRY ON THE TRADITION!

December 4, 1980, marks eleven years since enemies of our people and our struggle for liberation made a pre-dawn attack upon the apartment at 2337 West Monroe Street, Chicago, and took the lives of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and wounded four other members of the Black Panther Party.

As this date approaches and passes, We must remember the biased news reports of that day, the fabricated photos of nails driven into a door frame and passed off to us as "bullet holes" allegedly fired at police by Fred, Mark, and their comrades.

We must remember all of the lies told to us to cover up the assassination of our Brothers, and We must remember who told these lies. As We remember the deaths of Mark and Fred, We must focus our attention most particularly on why they were assassinated. We must remember Fred and Mark as they lived, remember how they lived. We must remember that they had dedicated their lives to struggling for our freedom—and that is why they were killed.

We can't separate the lives of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark from the Black Panther Party and the national liberation struggle. Our Brothers were murdered in their sleep because they worked each day to awaken and organize black people, and to build bonds of solidarity with other oppressed peoples, in the struggle against amerikkkan capitalist-imperialism.

The murderers of Fred and Mark used "weapons in the apartment" as a pretext for their deeds, believing that such an excuse would be justifiable to the people. But Fred and Mark weren't killed because they possessed an illegal shotgun or any other legal or illegal firearms. They were killed because they had utilized a "Ten Point Program," a revolutionary ideology, and love for their people, to organize and mobilize masses of people to struggle for self-determination.

In the same way, the entire Black Panther Party, of which Fred and Mark were members, didn't come under the attack of the imperialist state only because they believed in armed self-defense and had the means to practice it. "As long as (Panther) militancy was directed against individual police forces, the struggle (against them) was relatively mild.... But once the Panthers began to lead a class war by confronting the whole system (for example, the Breakfast program, which made two crucial points: (1) white society cannot feed black children; (2) the black revolution can), then harassment of the Panthers changed to attempted extermination: Cops raided Panther offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Denver, Chicago, New York and other cities killed twenty-eight Panthers by the end of 1969; jailed hundreds...." (John Gerassi, Coming of the New International)

This "attempted extermination" of the Black Panther Party was

simply one battle – but a major one – in the larger campaign waged by the u.s. government, against New Afrikan ("black") and other nationally oppressed peoples. The amerikkan government, through its agencies (army, navy, f.b.i., c.i.a., local police and others), waged an "undeclared" war against the people – the nation – and the New Afrikan liberation movement. There were many casualties in this war, and Fred and Mark were two of them. Aside from those who were killed, many were driven into exile, some were driven mad, and still others were driven into the jails and prisons of amerikkka on trumped-up "criminal" charges. And many of these comrades are still in prison, still held in detention, and are Political/Prisoners of War.

Sundiata Acoli, Safiya Bukhari, Geronimo Pratt, Albert Nuh Washington, Richard Dhoruba Moore, Anthony Jalil Bottom, David Rice, Tarik Kwesi, Michael Alston, Ruchell Magee, Walid Simmons, Maasi, Herman Bell, Lorenzo Ervin, Amilcar Erwin—these are just a few of the POW's still held in the steel cages of amerikkka's prisons, not because they committed "crimes," but because they were and remain committed to the struggle for Independence and Socialism – Uhuru na Ujamaa.

The lives of all these comrades and many others were and are intimately connected with the lives of Fred and Mark. And all of us know that if Fred and Mark were alive today, they'd be struggling to liberate these comrades, these Prisoners of War. If Fred and Mark were alive today, they'd have no problem understanding the necessity of such a commitment; no problem relating this aspect of the struggle to the strategic objective of national independence.

If Fred and Mark were alive today, they'd be in the forefront of the struggle to Free the Pontiac Brothers! They'd be in motion in support of Graham and Allen; in motion to Free Gary Tyler and Imani Harris; to liberate Carol Crooks, Marian Ried, and Maxine Njeri Smith and Dessie Rashida Woods; they'd be in full support of the FALN-11, Rita Brown and Ed Mead....

So, what We gotta do – now – is make sure that Fred, Mark, and so many other Comrade-Sisters and Brothers who have given their lives in the struggle, did not die in vain. Fred once said – and truly believed – that "You can kill the revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution." We gotta make sure the revolution doesn't die – because if it dies, We die. We gotta internalize the legacy that these Sisters and Brothers left us; We gotta carry on the tradition of struggle.

. . . the moment imperialism arrived and colonialism arrived, it made us leave our history and enter another history.

When the slavers arrived, these agents of colonialism and imperialism took us out of our own history as a free and self-determining people, and made us enter the history of an enslaved, colonized people. The tradition of struggle began at that point, which also marks the first steps taken by the new . . . Afrikan

nation.

Brothers and Sisters from different parts of the Continent found themselves chained together and crowded together in hastily constructed cages and the dungeons of European forts. It was at that very moment that Sisters and Brothers who spoke different tongues, wore different dress, began to share the common experience of slavery and colonial oppression. And, our resistance began here, too, beginning the long war for our national independence.

Chained and crowded on the ships of the slavers, the Sisters and Brothers already recognized the need for communication . . . the experience of common oppression gave rise to the need for a common tongue. And the ability to communicate aided in the ability to resist. This is part of the tradition that Fred and Mark carried on; it's the tradition We must carry on.

"The first settlement within the present borders of the United States to contain (New Afrikan) slaves was the victim of the first slave revolt. A Spanish colonizer, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, in the summer of 1526, founded a town near the mouth of the Pedee river in what is now South Carolina. The community consisted of five hundred Spaniards and one hundred (New Afrikan) slaves. Trouble soon beset the colony. Illness caused numerous deaths, carrying off, in October, Ayllon himself. The (Native Nations) grew more hostile and dangerous. Finally, probably in November, the (New Afrikans) rebelled, killed several (colonizers), and escaped to the (Native Nations). This was a fatal blow and the remaining colonists – but one hundred and fifty souls – returned to Haiti in December, 1526."

As the New Afrikan nation emerged, step-by-step, under the conditions of colonial oppression and exploitation, the tradition of resistance was carried on – and so continues up to the present. And, just as our struggle for self-determination and national independence was/is only one side of the coin, the other side is the efforts undertaken by the colonizer to repress our resistance, to exterminate our warriors and leaders, to disrupt the independence movement, to deny our freedom.

"The system of slavery demanded a special police force and such a force was made possible and unusually effective by the presence of the poor whites.... First of all, it gave him work and some authority as overseer, slave driver, and member of the patrol system. But above and beyond this, it fed his vanity because it associated him with the masters.... He never regarded himself as a laborer, or as part of any labor movement.... The system was held stable and intact by the poor white.... Gradually the whole white South became an armed and commissioned camp to keep (New Afrikans) in – slavery and to kill the black rebel." (DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 12)

When fourteen (14) agents of the imperialist state attacked and assassinate Fred Hampton and Mark Clark on December 4, 1969, these pigs were carrying on a tradition of their own, with the help of William O'Neal, who must also be seen as perpetuating a particular "tradition."...

"On September 13, 1663, a favorite slave of a Mr. John Smith of Gloucester County, Virginia, betrayed an extensive conspiracy of New

Afrikan slaves: . . . An unknown number of the rebels was executed. The day of the betrayal was set aside by the colonists as one of thanksgiving and prayer to a merciful god who had saved them - from extermination. The traitor was given his freedom ~d 5,000 lbs. of tobacco."

They gave William O'Neal \$300.00 . . . and Gloves Davis is regarded today as a "respected member of the Chicago black community," and a "noted authority" on how to "rid the community of black-on black crime."

The deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark took place within the context of the "undeclared" war that has gone on continuously from the 16th century. The opposing forces in this war are represented by the neo-colonized New Afrikan ("black") nation, and the colonizing u.s. imperialist state.

It was within the context of this war that the "favorite slaves" of early european settlers betrayed the freedom struggle by becoming informers and infiltrators, and otherwise agents of the colonizing power, against the independence movement.

The methods used by the u.s. government to discredit and "defeat" Jack Johnson took place within the context of the war.... But they didn't call it "cointelpro" then, in its public exposure.

Planting infiltrators and seeking informers inside the U.N.I.A. took place within the context of the war, and resulted in the "criminal prosecution" of Marcus Garvey on false fraud charges, and his eventual deportation from the U.S., and the decline of the mass movement then being led by the U.N.I.A. They didn't call these tactics "cointelpro" then, either, when they were revealed to the public.

When the u.s. government initiated tactics aimed at preventing Paul Robeson from speaking and singing in the u.s., and denied him a passport with which to leave the kountry, these tactics took place within the context of the war waged by our people for national liberation. The counter-revolutionary measures undertaken by the enemy in this war were not called "cointelpro," tho, to the public.

When they intercepted the mail of W. E. B. DuBois, undermined his attempts to speak at black college campuses, indicted him and others as being "agents of a foreign government," all these took place within the context of the war, but they didn't call it "cointelpro," to the public.

And, it actually followed on the heels of the attacks on Robeson and DuBois that attacks were concentrated on Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Nation of Islam, which can be said to have their point of origin in the late 1950's. By 1964, the attack against King, as a symbol of the movement's potential, was intensified, eventually resulting in his assassination on April 4, 1968.

They didn't kill King because he wore a black leather jacket, black beret, and sold copies of the Black Panther newspaper with a shotgun slung over his shoulder. They killed him because he had

finally realized that he had no more cheeks to turn.... The reactionary violence of the u.s. inside its own borders and around the world had led King by the spring of 1968 to the threshold of Revolutionary Violence — a threshold that he was about to cross....

It was in the mid-1960's, as the masses of our people began the motion on various fronts of struggle, and to raise the character of the movement, and to forge conscious links between our movement, the movements of other domestic national liberation struggles and the national liberation struggles of the Third World, that the u.s. government began to shift the focus of its counter-revolutionary strategy and tactics from individuals and a few selected organizations, to include larger numbers of organizations and the (mass) movement as a whole.

The international implications of our struggle in part necessitated the involvement of the c.i.a., not only in the Third World countries but on the u.s. domestic level, through, for instance, its "Operation Chaos."

The relationships of our national liberation struggle to the general anti-imperialist movement; to the Vietnam war and the raising of the slogan by SNCC and other forces, "Hell No, We Won't Go!" necessitated, in part, the involvement of the intelligence and counter-intelligence arms of the U.S. armed forces, primarily that of the U.S. army.

The a.t.f. (alcohol, tobacco and firearms bureau), the postal inspector's office — the entire "intelligence community," coordinated at the highest levels of the government and approved by the president — were all involved in the counter-revolutionary war against the New Afrikan independence movement. The formation of l.e.a.a. (law enforcement assistance administration) was just as much a part of the total counter-revolution as the f.b.i. program.... The training of right-wing "law enforcement" officials at the f.b.i. and c.i.a. and u.s. army bases inside and outside the u.s. were all parts of the same objective....

The primary responsibility for counter-revolution on the domestic level went to the f.b.i., but it was a responsibility subordinate to the entire u.s. department of "justice," headed by the attorney general, who is responsible to the president of the u.s., and this responsibility exercised by the f.b.i. was done in complete and total coordination with all other federal and local intelligence/repressive arms of the federal and state governments of the u.s.

(We can be assured that the f.b.i. has not abandoned its practice of sending its agents to foreign soil, as it did during the second imperialist war, when they justify such action on the basis of "links to domestic investigations." Such would be the case in having its agents, infiltrators and informers in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and, as indicated by at least one of the released Memos, in Algeria, operating against Eldridge Cleaver and other BPP members there. Also as evidenced by information revealed around the travels of Malik [Malcolm X] in Africa....)

The f.b.i. is an agency of the u.s. government, and one of its

essential functions is counter-intelligence. The f.b.i. is and always has been a semi-clandestine apparatus, designed to help maintain the "status quo," i.e., the dominance of u.s. capitalist-imperialism. The state and local police forces are like the "Roman Legions," while the f.b.i. and c.i.a. are like the "Pretorian Guard." The f.b.i. performs its task by collecting and using information in strategic and tactical offensives in counter-revolutionary warfare against revolutionary and progressive forces.

"Revolution and counter-revolution both involve social upheaval, but they are not equal opposites. The revolution creates the future; the counter-revolution seeks to maintain the present or restore the past."

The Ku Klux Klan is also a counter-revolutionary force, and carries out its activities with the approval and cooperation of the U.S. government and its agencies. This was the case from the very birth of the Klan and similar groups. Thus, it is not surprising that cooperation between the KKK and the u.s. government in counter-revolutionary activities was seen in the late 1950's and early 1960's, as they joined forces to attack the growing "civil rights" movement based then in the National Territory and other southern areas.

"Over one-fourth of all Klan members in the South were FBI agents and informants, and much violence against the civil rights movement can be directly attributed to these agents. One FBI provocateur, Gary Thomas Rowe, was an active participant in widespread Klan-violence, including the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo, the bombing of a Birmingham church which killed four black children, and the killing of a black man during a disturbance in Birmingham in 1963. Much of the FBI's attention, as has now become well known, was focused on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference....

"As early as 1960, the FBI started a comprehensive counterintelligence program originating in Chicago, designed to disrupt and neutralize the Nation of Islam. Although the bulk of the files are still secret, released documents reveal that one of the primary purposes of this program was to exacerbate the tensions between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, and these activities either directly or indirectly led to the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. Also in 1960, the FBI ordered their field offices to begin counter intelligence activities to thoroughly disrupt the Puerto Rican Independence movement, especially the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and what is now the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

"As the civil rights movement moved to the north, and urban ghetto uprisings punctuated black people's demands for national liberation, the FBI greatly expanded their counterintelligence programs against the black movement and its leadership." (*Counter-Intelligence: A Documentary Look At America's Secret Police*)

On August 25, 1967, the Director of the f.b.i. — who was

responsible to the u.s. Attorney General, who in turn was responsible to the President of the u.s. — issued a Memo establishing a *new* — an *additional* — counterintelligence program, to be designated "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups: Internal Security."

This 8-25-67 Memo was circulated among twenty-three (23) offices: Albany, Atlanta, Baltimore Boston, Buffalo, Charlotte, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Jackson, Los Angeles, Memphis, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, Richmond, St. Louis, San Francisco and the Washington, D.C. Field Offices.

The above offices were instructed to "establish a control file captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist" organizations.

And, the purpose of the new program was to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" the activities of nationalist organizations, "their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters.... The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant."

This Memo further instructed agents to prevent the consolidation of, and recruitment by, nationalist forces, and to "exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

Agents were also encouraged to disrupt and neutralize groups "through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized."

It should be understood that this Memo, establishing this *new* counterintelligence program, did not mark the point of origin of f.b.i.- (or of other u.s. government agency) initiated counter-revolutionary strategy and tactics against the New Afrikan independence movement. It's necessary to keep such a point in mind for several reasons.

- Counter-revolution, or, "counterintelligence" activities against the black movement, did not begin with the 8-25-67 Memo and the new program that it established;
- Counter-revolution, or, counterintelligence activities against the movement, did not begin with the formation of the f.b.i. or with the Palmer Raids;
- Activities based on u.s. government policy directed toward disrupting the, black independence movement, toward discrediting black leadership, and toward neutralizing the effectiveness of the

liberation process, all had their origins, ultimately, at the initial point of national domination. The necessity for such activities flows from the nature of the contradiction between the oppressed and the oppressor nations. Failure to keep these points in mind results in liquidation of revolutionary politics, and for the dominance of bourgeois, reformist politics in the liberation process.

J. Edgar Hoover was an agent of the u.s. imperialist state — *he was a puppet*, not the puppeteer. "Cointelpro" was a tool of the u.s. government's counter-revolution — it was not a simple tool of Hoover's.

The 8-25-67 Memo continues: "*Intensified* attention (our emphasis) under this program should be afforded to the activities of such groups as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Revolutionary Action Movement, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, Congress of Racial Equality, and the Nation of Islam. Particular emphasis should be given to extremists who direct the activities and policies of revolutionary or militant groups such as Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Elijah Muhammad, and Maxwell Stanford."

All f.b.i. personnel *already engaged* in "investigations" of nationalist organizations were to be made aware of the *new* counterintelligence program, and to "call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program."

January 17, 1968: Darthard Perry

In a *Penthouse* interview with one "Othello" — allegedly Darthard Perry — We are given an account of the f.b.i.'s complicity in the murders of BPP members John Huggins and Bunchy Carter.

Perry, or "Othello" (the code name given him by the f.b.i.), had been recruited by the f.b.i. in 1968, assigned to work under an agent known as "Control One" and "instructed to spy on a number of groups, including socialist and leftist organizations, with special emphasis on black groups. To do so, Othello was to pose as an interested but politically immature *naif*, trying to understand a particular group's program to see whether he wanted to join it~ ... 'Then they started to test me on something a little heavier.... They'd tell me to go to some Black Panther office, for example, and steal somebody's phone book.'"

Organized in October 1966, by 1968 the BPP had 38 chapters, an approximate membership of 4,000, and had, because of its mass-oriented program, become the major target of the u.s. government's domestic counter-revolutionary thrust, and this was manifested in the f.b.i. counterintelligence program against the movement.

The *Penthouse* interview continues: "I was told," says Othello, "that the sky was not the limit with the Panthers — it was the whole goddamn universe. At that time my role was basically infiltration; I

would work my way into the Panthers and their various headquarters and later do very detailed layouts of the inside for Control One. These were used in various raids and burglaries on the buildings; the idea was to find guns or drugs so the Panthers could be busted on these charges. Then it started to get very heavy. There was another organization on the West Coast at that time, called United Slaves (US), run by a maniac named Ron Karenga. He didn't like the Black Panthers, so the FBI started to foment a war between the two groups so they would kill each other off. The bureau began by sending anonymous letters from somebody or other to both...."

On February 29, 1968, a Memo was issued by the f.b.i. "To expand the Counterintelligence Program designed to neutralize militant black nationalist groups from 23 to 41 field divisions so as to cover the great majority of black nationalist activity in this country." This memo re-stated the goals of the program: to prevent the coalition of nationalist groups; prevent the rise of leadership which might "unify and electrify" the movement; "prevent these militants from gaining respectability and prevent the growth of these groups" among youth.

This Memo was followed on March 4, 1968, by one from the f.b.i. director. This March 4th memo was directed to those f.b.i. divisions already listed above, and expanded the program to include the following divisions: Birmingham, Denver, Houston, Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Kansas City, Miami, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Mobile, New Haven, Omaha, Portland, Sacramento, San Diego, Seattle, Springfield and Tampa.

The March 4th memo listed essentially the same goals as previous ones, and listed "Targets" in the following way:

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Southern
Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Revolutionary
Action Movement (RAM)

Nation of Islam (NOI)

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammad of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

Again, it should be noted that no mention has yet been made in these Memos of the BPP — the reason being that an entirely separate program and file had been established, devoted exclusively to the Black Panther Party.

—January 17, 1968: Bunchy Carter and John Huggins killed

—April 4, 1968: Bobby Hutton killed while trying to surrender to
police after police ambushed a group of Panthers

- July 23, 1968: Police in Cleveland ambushed a group of Movement activists, which included Ahmed Evans; Evans was charged with the murders of police officers, convicted, and died in prison on February 25, 1978
- January 1, 1969: FBI and Chicago police conspire to prevent Fred Hampton from appearing on a local t.v. show
- April 2, 1969: New York BPP "21" arrested on frame-up conspiracy charges
- April 26, 1969: BPP office in Des Moines, Iowa, bombed by police
- May 26, 1969: Fred Hampton arrested in Chicago, for "stealing ice cream and distributing it to children"
- June 4, 1969: Detroit BPP office raided by police
- June 7, 1969: Chicago BPP office raided by police
- June 15, 1969: Sacramento and San Diego, California, BPP offices raided by police
- July 31, 1969: Chicago BPP office again raided by police -October 4, 1969: Chicago BPP office raided by police -October 18, 1969: Walter Toure Pope killed by Los Angeles police
- November 13, 1969: Chicago police ambush and kill Spurgeon Jake Winters
- December 4, 1969: Fourteen Chicago police raid the Monroe Street apartment and assassinate Fred Hampton and Mark Clark -December 8, 1969: Los Angeles, using helicopters and armored personnel carriers, raid the BPP office
- March 9, 1970: Ralph Featherstone and Che Payne killed by a bomb outside a Maryland courthouse where Rap Brown had scheduled hearing
- July 28, 1970: Carl Hampton, founder/chairman of People's Party II, killed by Houston police
- August 7, 1970: Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain killed, and Ruchell Magee wounded at Marin County courthouse
- August 17, 1970: Omaha police trips a booby-trapped device; David Rice, Chairman of NCCF, framed and sentenced to life imprisonment
- August 29, 1970: Philadelphia policeman killed; BPP office raided and male and female occupants forced to strip on street; Fred Burton framed and convicted for policeman's death and sentenced to life imprisonment
- September 1970: Geronimo Pratt, who escaped unhurt from the December 1969 raid on BPP office, charged with a 1968 murder -June 1971: Dhoruba Moore and others arrested in New York, framed on charges of shooting two policemen and robbery -August 18, 1971: Mississippi police and f.b.i. raid Provisional Government residence in Jackson, Mississippi -August 21, 1971: George Jackson assassinated in San Quentin prison
- August 28, 1971: Nuh Washington and Jalil Bottom arrested in California and charged with the murder of two New York policemen
- December 31, 1971: Frank Fields killed in Florida by f.b.i.
- February 15, 1972: Ronald Carter killed by St. Louis police
- May 3, 1973: Zayd Malik Shakur killed by New Jersey state troopers; Assata Shakur wounded and arrested along with Sundiata Acoli; both Sundiata and Assata imprisoned, sentenced to life terms
- November 14, 1973: Twyman Myers is ambushed and killed by New York

police and f.b.i.

We find it increasingly necessary to address the politics underlying the deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.... These are in fact the politics which underlie the reality of having Prisoners of War. The necessity to address ourselves to the politics of New Afrikan Prisoners of War arises not merely because these POW's are "prisoners," but because they represent the highest expression of a political reality — a political reality which is not presently being accepted and acted upon.

Today, armed struggle remains the highest form of revolutionary political expression for New Afrikan and for all oppressed people. Throughout our history of struggle, there have been those among us who organized themselves into small groups, entered into "political engagements" with each other, in order to manifest the highest form of expression that can be given to the determination of our people to be free of amerikkkan domination.

In most recent times, We have had the Amistad Collective . . . the Olugbala Tribe — the *Black Liberation Army*. Some of our Comrade-Sisters and Brothers have been "nameless and faceless," known only as *Freedom Fighters* to the pigs who busted them; the pigs who sat in robes and passed judgment on them in behalf of the imperialist state and against the interest of our people; the pigs who now patrol the galleries of u.s. prisons and call our Comrades "inmates" and "residents" — but who actually know them to be what they are — Prisoners of War!

Only inside the borders of amerikkka would a movement seeking national liberation revolution, neglect pushing the politics inherent in the reality of POW's.

"The purpose of the Marion Control Unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in society at large." — former Marion Warden Ralph Aron. This applies not only to Marion but to each and every prison, each and every "control unit" in this kountry. Any failure to address the politics which these prisons and units serve is in effect a failure to address the fundamental problem facing our people, and it becomes in practice an aid to the enemies of our people, and reinforces the enemy's efforts to suppress revolution, divert the attention of the masses from fundamental issues and from the most appropriate methods with which to address those issues.

For the POW — as for the nation as a whole, in the real world — the war doesn't stop with the capture of armed political combatants. When and if the guns of the people's army are silenced, merely as a result of fierce repression, counter-revolution, and capture, no resolution of the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor — no resolution of the war — has been achieved.

The enemy kills and captures rebellious slaves in order to prevent the spread and escalation of the people's war. The enemy

isolates captured political combatants in an attempt to prevent further "contagion," further spread of revolutionary politics.

The enemy continues to exercise repressive tactics in his treatment of POW's because it is not the mere fact of being "prisoners" that makes a POW a POW. A Prisoner of War is a POW because of theory and practice, and because of historical continuity in the struggle of a dominated nation to free itself. POW's continue to manifest this historical reality even when in the custody of the enemy. POW's continue to give expression to the theory and practice of national liberation revolution even when behind the walls.

The enemy continues to repress the POW's not only to control revolutionary theory and practice inside the prisons — they also seek to prevent this theory from exercising influence outside the walls; they want to prevent the practice of the POW's from setting examples for the oppressed masses outside the walls.

We may even raise the question of a "disproportionate attention" upon POW's — an attention which, when it comes from the oppressor, allows the oppressor to exercise the full range of repressive tactics against POW's without the slightest fear of retaliation or of in any way being called into question by the oppressed masses and so-called revolutionary leadership outside the walls.

Of course, if the enemy is not being attacked outside the walls, he can concentrate his attention and his forces inside the walls.

What the prison guard is to the POW, the policeman, the f.b.i. is to the masses and to so-called revolutionary leadership outside. Just as the prison guard will harass, isolate, beat and kill the POW for persistence in expression of revolutionary attitudes, so will the policeman, the f.b.i. agent, harass the masses, harass, isolate, beat and kill any genuine cadres or leadership outside the walls, *if* any revolutionary attitudes are vocally — and especially if they are physically — expressed.

POW's continue to resist and continue in the effort to build to win and make revolution. Revolutionary theory and practice constitute a genuine threat to the oppressive state — even when it manifests itself in prisons!

We know what the purpose for isolation of POW's is, when such attempts come from the enemy, but what are the purposes of isolating POW's when these attempts come from the revolutionary movement itself?

In order to talk about POW's, We have to talk about the war—and some folks don't wanna talk about war. In order to talk about the war, We have to talk about its causes, its consequences, and about ways and means to bring the war to an end in a way that will be favorable to ourselves and to all-others who struggle against amerikkan capitalist-imperialism. To talk about POW's, and consequently, the war, is to admit that the same politics underlying these are those which also underlie missing New Afrikan children in Atlanta, broken families, cut-backs in food stamp programs, etc., etc. We can simply say that "Reagan is a racist" and end it there....

To talk about POW's is to talk about a centuries-old tradition of *armed* resistance to u.s. domination — an imperialist domination —

and *this* is what some folks wanna avoid.

The failure to provide political and material support for Prisoners of War is a failure to push the politics of national liberation, not just a failure to support "prisoners." The failure to support Prisoners of War is both (1) a failure to support the politics of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, and thus a denial of the national oppression of New Afrika, and (2) a failure to support the politics of *armed* resistance to imperialist domination.... But, far more at issue, far more fearful to some, are the adjustments that must be made in lifestyle, in habits, etc., for those who would actually carry on a practice suited to real world and people's war.

Build To Win!

Committee for Political/Prisoners of War

Thoughts On Consolidation...

Excerpts from:

Thoughts On Consolidation, Ideology and Organization A DISCUSSION PAPER

The Party

...We should pause here to make a few general observations on the concept and function of a "party."...As soon as time allows, We'll return to this subject (more than once) to deal with it in greater depth and at greater length.

There is "the party" *in general*, and "the party" *in particular*. Right now We are still concerned with both aspects, because We are learning and building, dealing with theory and practice. But here, We deal with "the party" *in general*, as a means of helping us to deal better with it *in particular* relations suited to our own concrete conditions and analysis.

The "party" in general is that group of persons who have a "unity of consciousness"; it is those persons who, "fused by a community of ideas," organize themselves to give life to the ideology, to carry out the mission of the whole people, under the leadership of the most revolutionary class. The party is not merely "anti" this or that, since it has a positive, concrete purpose; therefore, the party fights *for* very specific objectives, and these specific, strategic objectives inform all tactical objectives and techniques.

The party, in its general conception, always leads and catalyzes, it guides and is consistent in increasing the momentum and the depth of the struggle. It is evident that the party must be "in constant touch with the people," closely united with the masses, since it gets its ideas from the masses and concentrates these ideas into weapons which will open up the shortest possible route to independence and socialism.

The party has no interests which are separate from the masses - yet, it is also evident that the party exists as an *organized form* which is "separate" from the masses, as a result of the clearer understanding of the nature of the contradictions and the path to be taken in order to resolve them.

The party fights in the interests of the whole people, but it is also a class party. The existence of revolutionary ideas pre-supposes the existence of a revolutionary class. The party is the representative of the revolutionary class, and constitutes the highest, concentrated expression of the revolutionary class.

The objective unity of *national* consciousness forms the basis for the dialectical unity between the *masses* and the party. This same objective unity of national and *class* consciousness forms the basis of dialectical unity between the most revolutionary class and its party. Nevertheless, separate organization of the party arises as a result of the subjective dis-unity in the nation - in the class; the differing degrees of clarity, the differing levels of

understanding among the masses and all class forces, makes separate organization of the party necessary.

If We were each born to become conscious revolutionaries, if We were predestined to practice New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalism, simply by virtue of the conditions of our oppression alone, there would be no problem. All of our people objectively and collectively experience the same oppression and super-exploitation, at the hands of the common enemy. But New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalism arises as a *particular* understanding of our situation - it is not biologically inherent...it is a *particular* expression of method, which rests on repeated experience and education.

We understand that, on the historical level, as well as the day-to-day practical level, the "masses make history." But We also understand that the masses don't make history "just as they please." As a people, an oppressed, neo-colonized nation, We exist on different levels of consciousness - on different levels of an ever-developing collective consciousness, which is the essence of the revolutionary process. The party, therefore, exists as a separate organization and *systematically* focuses on this consciousness and the means of aiding and accelerating its development.

The party serves the people and leads the people, *by hastening the development of revolutionary consciousness*, and giving this consciousness expression in concrete activity. The party exists as a separate organization so that the masses can see their own consciousness given shape through the party and its activity. Through the party, the masses see a physical manifestation of their world-view, and their interests and aspirations are clearly formulated and systematically pursued. By this process, a step is taken in further development and consolidation of a national and class consciousness, which is peculiar to New Afrikan people.

Many bloods fall back on the phrase "the masses make history" as an expression of spontaneity in activity and of idealism in their thinking. The masses should never be regarded in static terms, since the concepts of both "the masses" and "the people" change in the course of struggle.

The party is the party of a definite class, but it is not an organized expression of "the average" New Afrikan. "It is self-evident that the actions of the class are largely determined by its average members. But since the 'average' is not static and cannot be determined statistically, but is itself *the product of the revolutionary process*, it is no less self-evident that an organization which bases itself on an existing 'average' is doomed to hinder revolutionary development, and even to *reduce* the general level and effectiveness of consciousness and, consequently, of organization and practice. Conversely, the clear establishing of the highest forms of consciousness, organization, and practice which are *objectively* possible at any given point in time, as represented by the autonomous organization of the conscious vanguard, is itself a means by which to relieve the tension between this objective possibility and the actual state of consciousness of the average members (of the class) in a manner advantageous to the revolution."

In other words, what We may term "average" today, when there is a relatively low level of revolutionary consciousness among the masses of our people, will not be the "average" tomorrow, as consciousness increases and spreads, and as activity increases and spreads. A party which *bases itself* on an *existing* "average" level of consciousness and activity, will end up *hindering* the further development of activity and consciousness, and even end up *reducing* the present levels of both. It is the party's responsibility to *lead*, to *change* existing levels of consciousness and activity and raise them to higher levels. Once the party acts on this responsibility, the "tension" which exists between it and the "average" members of the class and the whole people is reduced.

Correct theory is the prerequisite for correct and widespread mass activity leading to revolutionary change. Such theory involves subjective as well as objective factors;...it involves theoretical considerations involving the most appropriate forms of organization for the party. In other words, the party, too, does not organize "just as it pleases," but in accordance with the state of overall conditions, and in accordance with tactical considerations made in light of the level of consciousness and activity of the masses, and aiming toward changing present conditions, raising consciousness, and mobilizing the masses to make revolution.

Correct theory is also the basis upon which the general principles and policy determinations are made, which is one of the reasons why an opportunistic party is so easy to recognize - its lack of adherence is based on its lack of correct theory. The theory of an opportunist party will be seen to be eclectic; it will be seen to be heterogeneous and this heterogeneity will also be reflected in the physical composition of its membership. Such a party will be seen for its looseness, its ability to act only occasionally and without consistent direction; it will lack a center of authoritative leadership, and will be pushed by spontaneous movements.

Such parties, lacking correct theory, are soon destroyed, left by the wayside, not only without a role as a capable fighting organization leading the revolutionary struggle, but it will also find itself out of the fight altogether.

In *Book Four* of the *P.O.W. Journal*, Regis Debray was quoted with regard to the need for revolutionary struggles to have a *vanguard*...There is no metaphysical equation in which "vanguard" equals the word "party" - as if an organization could only be a *vanguard* if it calls itself a "party." There are merely dialectical conjunctions between a given *function* and a given form of organization - the *form* can change.

Consolidation

Generally, consolidation can mean the heterogeneous affiliation of several groups...or the complete fusion of several groups of

individuals into a homogeneous whole. But in either case, there is a direct inter-relationship between the process of consolidation and the factor of organization (on both theoretical and practical levels), and the application of ideology through practice.

When We talk about consolidation, We speak of it first of all in its relation to our own organization. Secondly, We speak of consolidation in its relation to other politico-military formations, and particularly those who already share the objective of independence and socialism. Thirdly, when We speak of consolidation, We do so in its relation to those political formations and conscious and active sectors of the population who struggle under the banner of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

Of course, these three levels, or three areas of *immediate* concern, do not exhaust the levels of our concern over the question of consolidation, generally speaking. But our prime concern at this point in time is drawing greater attention to these three levels, because they have, We believe, the greatest bearing over the next period, on the future of the organization, the Movement, and the struggle.

This approach to the question of consolidation is made in light of our general political perspective, our historical and contemporary analysis of conditions, and the practical and theoretical contributions that each of the forces corresponding to each of the above-mentioned levels have made to our struggle, and to the objective positions they occupy in the alignment of revolutionary forces...

We clearly understand the "need for unity." We fully recognize that whether We are conscious of it or not, We are already "united" - in our suffering, in our daily repression of positive life forces. We totally agree with the statement "unite or perish" because We know that if We perish, it won't be as "individuals."

Our understanding of all life, all nature, allows us to see that no thing, and no one, exists, grows and develops in isolation. We know that the so-called "chaos" and "madness" around us actually has a pattern, and We can only trace the pattern, see it as a whole for what it really is, by tracing it out through its interrelated parts. We know there is a need for "unity" because We know there is already "unity." We know there is "the one," but We also know that "one always divides into two" in the real world.

Thus, We know We "need unity" - but unity of a type different from the unity We have at present. We want to move from a unity in oppression to a unity in the striving toward national independence and socialism. We want to move from a unity that We know is not mechanical and *purely* "objective."

We want to have a *particular type of unity*. We understand the law of particularity just as well as We understand the law of generality. We know that the qualitative character of a thing - even the qualitative character of a "unity" - is based on its internal

dynamic; even more, on the dialectic motion of the various forms of the internal matter which makes the unity of every particular thing.

We are neither idealists nor mechanical in our thinking, because our understanding of how the world works tells us that all change and qualitative character comes about through the struggle of opposites. This was understood by the Khemites, and by MPLA, ZANU, PAIGC...

We know that unity must be realized in a particular way...Unity has a purpose - a particular purpose...

It's a shame, ain't it, that the MPLA couldn't unite with UNITA? Ain't it a shame, and truly hard to understand, why these bloods, these black Sisters and Brothers, these Afrikans, these Angolans, all of them struggling in their same-ness of color and same-ness of oppression against a color and class/national enemy - these bloods couldn't unite. Is there a reason for that? Do We wonder why the FNLA and MPLA couldn't unite? Why they both declared separate republics after the defeat of the Portuguese army? Why UNITA continues, even as this is written, to join white south african forces in struggle against the Republic of Angola, under the leadership of the MPLA?

We know that there are those among us who truly believe and live as though We are one people, with one aim and one destiny. But We also know that there are those among us who do not believe in this way, and they act accordingly. We know that there has never, and We don't believe there will ever be, an "absolute" unity. So, what is implied?

Our unity will be based not merely on color, because We know that "color is necessary, but not sufficient." We know that there are different levels of consciousness and commitment; that there are different interests; that there are different responses to neo-colonialism and foreign rule; that there are antagonistic aims among people of color who share a collective, objectively unified relationship to the destroyers of "our way."

We know that We are objectively one people, with objectively one aim. And because of this - precisely because We know this - We do not shout that "the moment is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing."

We seek to unite all those We can...to unite with all those it is possible to unite with...around the primary factor of consciousness, a unity around primary interests - particular interests, interests that We know not all of us share. We know that some bloods will fight harder than the massa to put out the fire in massa's house that other bloods set - this, too, is part of our glorious history. Even in the days before the invasion, the seeds of such contradictions were there...the first manifestations of such contradictions among us were evident. That the invasion exacerbated such contradictions, altered the natural development of such contradictions, is necessary to consider, but not primary in determining a course from this particular present into the future.

We can never forget our ultimate aims, our primary needs and interests; We can't disregard the basic features of imperialist oppression. We can't sacrifice strategic objectives for real or assumed advantages of the moment.

It is fifteen years after the death of Malik...fourteen years

since the BPP put forth its demand for land and a plebiscite as its major political objective, and today We still want land and socialism. We are New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalists, and We know that We will have to fight in order to win. We must build, and fight, to win. We must build consciousness and organization *because* We must fight to win...We gotta unite not merely "for the sake of unity," but We gotta unite in order to win the war. It would seem reasonable to assume, therefore, that there will be "problems" while making the effort to unite with those who don't really wanna fight - despite what they may say...Land and socialism, obtained as a result of a fight - which informs our need to unite...

It's not as simple as it sometimes seems it should be, this process of consolidation - especially when We speak of it in the most general terms, without addressing ourselves to the necessary particulars.

...One particular reason for the need for consolidation is so that We can more clearly define the Movement, and define the leading forces involved. This need is also behind putting forward exactly what the Movement is, and what the Movement is for.

When We refer to the New Afrikan Independence Movement, We are saying exactly what We are fighting for, what "the Movement" or "the struggle" is about. When We refer to "the Movement" as the New Afrikan Independence Movement, We are being less ambivalent, less ambiguous and amorphous than in our referrals to the "black liberation struggle." Color does not define a nationality..."black" don't really identify anything but a color...

"New Afrika" and "New Afrikan" identifies a national reality and national purpose and direction. A "movement" is a particular thing and is not "amorphous and misty." There are armed movements, and there are unarmed movements. "Armed movements" are called this not because armed actions are the only form of struggle involved in armed movements, but because armed force and armed forms of struggle are *strategic* concerns.

So, it must be asked whether the New Afrikan Independence Movement is an armed, or an unarmed, Movement, so that not only the movement generally, but all the respective organized forces of the Movement, are clearly all seeing the same, out of common eyes, and consequently moving in the same, unified direction.

Consolidation would be extremely difficult between forces struggling for the independence of New Afrika, and forces **not** struggling for the independence of New Afrika.

So, the first thing We look for in identifying the present and potential forces to comprise a consolidated Movement and its center, is whether or not they are struggling for the independence of New Afrika. This becomes one of the minimum bases for consolidation. Next, We wanna know what their position and their practice is in regard to armed struggle.

In asking "consolidation for what?" We also ask "Independence

for what?" or "the struggle for what?" In posing this question, too, We see that the consolidation process is not as easy as WE would think it should be.

Even among those who agree on "independence for New Afrika," there is still a difference of opinion on the type of "independence" We seek. Some folks want a "political independence" which does not imply full and genuine independent state power. Others speak of a type of "autonomy" which, again, does not imply full and complete control over all aspects of our economic, political and socio-cultural life. There are also those who talk about "colonialism" and the "oppressed colonized nation in the Black Belt South," and thorough analysis of their words, keen observation of their practice, shows that they are more deeply into a "multi-national (white) working class struggle" in which the struggle of the "black nation" is to merely serve as a "catalyst" for the "socialist revolution in amerikkka."...

...The struggle is also about more than just freeing the land. The struggle *is* for land, but land "for what?"

We're talking about consolidation, about a center for the Movement that will provide leadership for New Afrikan people, and We should see that, as in other national liberation revolutions, the "center of gravity" will without doubt express the embryonic characteristics of a revolutionary people's state and government, since the party/center functions as a state in the process of development...

So, We're concerned about a state, but a state for what purpose? of what type? It must surely be a state which moves beyond a simplistically defined "political independence" - amerikkka has "political independence"; Zaire has "political independence," and We surely don't want a political independence of this type.

The struggle is for land and socialism. We are "anti-capitalist"...just as there is no "before" without an "after," there is no "anti" without a "for."...

So, the struggle is for land and socialism - but **how** are We to win? We gotta fight in order to win. Having a "national strike" may help - but We don't believe that We will win by having a national strike. "Insurrection" is not what's happening with the New Afrikan national liberation revolution. In order to win, We need protracted people's war...So, by employing revolutionary violence, We struggle for land and socialism. The body consolidated around these is the apparatus of revolutionary violence, the "front," the "party," the state in the process of development...

Forces involved in genuine, homogeneous consolidation must have a mutual respect, and move toward each other in full recognition of the independence and capability that each force possesses. This becomes more important, the more the emphasis is placed on homogeneity. Each revolutionary force brings to the process not only its own structure, but its own ideological perspective (no matter how

"common"), its own political line, and its own strategy and methods and experience acquired over the years of its existence. The more homogeneous the consolidation sought, the more respect for these factors, and the more attention they must receive.

The consolidation process must include a new "division of labor," on a centralized basis...to, among other things, avoid a wasting of resources and duplication of efforts. The newly established "state in the process of development" will have to organize itself accordingly, and create the necessary "departments" and organizations which will assume the tasks demanded during the process of struggle...

So, again, our first level of concern around the question of consolidation is ourselves. We must be one homogeneous body, thinking and acting as one. Our second level of concern involves other like-minded bloods who are, or who aspire to, operations on the political-military level, thereby consolidating the entire "armed front" ideologically and organizationally, through coordinated political and military activity. And, We include as the next level of concern those conscious and active bloods who are drawn together in struggle for the liberation of New Afrika.

By placing primary emphasis - at this point in time - on these three levels of concern, We embark on the task of consolidating the "center" that the Movement needs for ideo-theoretical clarity; organizational strength and efficiency; practical strategic and tactical leadership and the ability to endure - to be "constant and continuous" and to conform to the reality of a revolutionary people's war inside the political borders of amerikkka. Since real revolution is illegal inside these borders, all genuine revolutionary leadership and cadres are "outlaws" and it matters not whether they do "mass work" or "armed work."

We recognize that the move toward consolidation, on each of the three levels, is a process, a state reached through a period of struggle which will be greatly influenced by external, objective factors, but it will be primarily determined by internal, subjective factors. Consolidation of the organization, of other political-military forces, and of the entire Movement, can only be the result of conscious efforts made by each respective force.

The process We undergo in order to consolidate, and the end result of consolidation, involves the fusion of individuals and groups. Fusing individuals and groups involves formulating and testing ideas and programs; it involves the creation of a single ideological perspective, a single line and strategy, a better coordination of efforts, distribution of tasks and areas of responsibility, and better results from these efforts. We can't even begin to address the question of consolidation without addressing the question of *ideology*.

Ideology

In essence, an ideology is a set of principles drawn from the historical experience of a given people, a people submitted to the same general social, economic and cultural realities, in a common historical situation. An ideology can also have revolutionary or reactionary aims; it can be for oppression or for liberation from oppression. If it is revolutionary, the aims of this set of principles is to explain to this given people the causes of their past situation and their present situation, and the ways and means to bring about a future situation consistent with their desire of an independent and free existence. Ideological principles come about through research. Once they have emerged through research and are correctly put together in a coherent whole, they serve for action. Briefly, then, an ideology is a set of principles drawn from the historical experience of a particular people; as such it provides the guidelines for action, for change, in the direction desired by that people.

Garvey, Lumumba, Malcolm: Black Nationalist Separatists
Sister Shawna Maglanbayan - Third World Press

All ideologies arise from the historical experience of a **given** people, which means *ideologies* are *indigenous*, and not importable. And, any given ideology can be revolutionary or reactionary. The ideology explains *causes* and puts forth *ways and means*. The development of an ideological framework demands research, study, analysis. In seeking ideological consolidation for the organization, the Movement and the entire nation, We seek a particular, a specific order for ourselves, as We struggle for independence and, after independence, as We further consolidate and develop the new socialist society.

We understand that We struggle to liberate New Afrika - not 19th century Germany or France - not 1917 Russia. We struggle to liberate New Afrika, not China, Angola, Vietnam or Guinea-Bissau, Cuba, Brazil or Zimbabwe. We understand relationships that exist in the world, and We also understand that ideological/theoretical principles coming from other places may be useful to us - but the ideology that will successfully guide us in the process of liberating New Afrikans must be an indigenous creation of New Afrikan people.

Our ideological formulation is New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalist. Before We can reach the point of more clearly articulating and practicing our ideology, We must become more familiar with ideology in general, and with the ideo-theoretical formulations that have come to us from other places. And, at bottom, We *must* get deeper into the study and analysis of our own history - the history of New Afrika.

Ideology: generally speaking, and its philosophical foundation...

A. We have had, and still have, bloods committed to the struggle of our people who believe that all they have to do is "act." We have bloods wasting away in the kamps, dazing in mental hospitals, falling by the wayside by the dozens, because they forgot that action on its own is blind and ineffective.

We have bloods who have confused revolutionary politics with reactionary "politicians" - they have thus become "anti-party" and "anti-theory," claiming that "action makes the front." We have a generation of bloods raised on the works of Comrade-Brother George Jackson, who can tell us all about the nameless and faceless guerrilla. But these bloods continue to run into obstacles, and never consider the fact that the reason they run into these obstacles maybe that they completely disregard the first page, first paragraph of Blood In My Eye: "I was hoping that you wouldn't get trapped in the riot stage like a great many other very sincere Brothers. I have to browbeat them every day down here. They think they don't need ideology, strategy or tactics. They think being a warrior is quite enough. And yet, without discipline (ideology) or direction (strategy), they'll end up washing cars, or unclaimed bodies in the city-state's morgue."

What is the "riot stage"? In its essence, it's the "spontaneous stage," the "primitive" stage, the "Brody" stage. The "riot stage" is essentially a stage where there is *spontaneous* growth and *spontaneous* activity, as opposed to systematic, carefully thought-out and gradually prepared plans for a prolonged and hard struggle. The "riot stage" is the stage where the dominant trend in one's thought and actions says that "action makes the front" while neglecting the fact that *masses make revolution*, and unless We have the *masses* at the front with us, We will fail. It's just that simple.

We must have a solid ideological foundation to guide all our actions. All our actions have a purpose - our actions *serve* a purpose, are subordinate to the purpose - to liberate the nation, establish the New Society, and raise the New Afrikan Personality.

The ideology gives us our beliefs about the nature of the individual, about the relationships between individuals, about the relations between individuals and nature, and the type of society We want to build. These beliefs are part of the total "mind behind the gun."

The ideology has principles which are fundamental aids in helping us to create the organizational and institutional structures that We build *while We fight*, to transfer the support of the people from the enemy state to our own state.

The ideology establishes boundaries, it says what's possible and desirable, and what's not possible and undesirable. It establishes identity, purpose and direction. It unites, establishes common attitudes and forms of behavior.

Ideology does all this, and more. It "seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society. To achieve this, it needs to employ a number of instruments. The ideology of a society displays itself in a political theory, social theory, and moral theory, and uses these as instruments. It establishes a particular range of

political, social and moral behavior, such that unless behavior of this sort fell within the established range, it would be incompatible with the ideology...The ideology of a society is total. It embraces the whole life of a people, and manifests itself in their class structure, history, literature, art, religion...If an ideology...seeks to introduce a certain order which will unite the actions of millions towards specific and definite goals, then its instruments can also be seen as instruments of social control, because "the notion of a society implies organized obligation." (Nkrumah, *Consciencism*)

To some bloods, all this sounds very elementary, something they "already know." To other bloods, it sounds "too academic," unrelated to their urge to "get down." But any bloods with eyes and ears will be able to relate this to the state of the nation fifteen years after the death of Malik, as We find it hard to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses because "the \$ ain't what it used to be."...

Bloods who regard all talk about ideology as elementary and/or academic, who spend the bulk of their time body-building and quoting dogmas, have and will continue to fail until We learn that the *strategy of armed struggle* must be able to guide us in developing consciousness and uniting our people around programs which will aid us in building the New Society *politically, economically, and socio-culturally - as We fight.*

"The struggle for national liberation must *transform* the masses from their present passivity and dependence on others. It must develop *in them and through them* the power, the will, the capacity, and the structure to govern their own accelerated development. The masses must begin to see themselves as making their own history. Only through this fundamental transformation in attitudes, and through the creation of new infrastructures by the people themselves, can the social productive forces of the people be liberated."

We feel the need to have a clear understanding about ideology because We must have such an understanding in order to put ideology into practice. In many respects, the importance of ideology as the guide to *all* our actions evades us because ideology is "largely implicit," e.g., each of the principles are not entirely and immediately capable of being compiled into "handbooks" - especially when the ideology is *emerging* in the course of revolutionary struggle, simultaneously opposing an oppressive, reactionary order, and raising a new, revolutionary one.

Although "largely implicit," the instruments of ideology are very pervasive and concrete in their expression. "Every society stresses its permissible ranges of conduct, and evolves instruments whereby it seeks to obtain conformity to such a range. It evolves these instruments because the unity out of diversity which a society represents, is hardly automatic, calling as it does for means whereby unity might be secured and, when secured, maintained. Though in a formal sense, these means are means of 'coercion,' in intent, they are means of cohesion. They become means of cohesion by underlining common values, which themselves generate common interests, and hence common attitudes and common reactions. It is this community, this

identity in the range of principles and values, in the range of interests, attitudes, and so of reactions, which lies at the bottom of social order. It is also this community which makes social sanction necessary, which inspires the physical institutions of society, like the police force, and decides the purposes for which they are called into being."

B. The ideology is the foundation, and the *ideology itself has a foundation*. The ideology presents us with a set of principles drawn from our historical experience, and these principles ultimately rest upon a particular analysis of "the way the world works." In other words, We say, the ideology has a particular *philosophical foundation*.

We've said that the ideology explains the causes of the present situation, and points out the ways and means of changing the present and creating a specific future situation. We've said that the ideology uses political, social and moral theory, and establishes a particular range of political, social and moral behavior; that it manifests itself in class structure, history, literature, art and religion; that its instruments become means of cohesion by underlining common values, interests and reactions, and that it "inspires the physical institutions of society, like the police force, and decides the purposes for which they are called into being." How are all these things done, and why?

The ideology gives us our beliefs about the nature of the individual, the relationship between individuals, between individuals and the society, between individuals/society and nature, and it does these by having a *philosophical foundation* which provides a *general analysis or description of the basis* for such beliefs.

Just as the ideology is drawn from particular historical experience, ultimately, the philosophical foundation also has its roots in particular social experiences, and particular interpretations of those experiences, based on how We think "the world works" - how We believe things develop, how things relate to each other.

Revolutionaries, in particular, cannot afford to take for granted the ways in which the masses conceive natural and social development. It is precisely these conceptions which are the basis for the ways in which the people will respond to efforts of agitation, education, organization and mobilization.

In 1980 We find that as We approach the masses with talk about police repression, POW's, and national independence, in many instances the "money fetish" is an obstacle blocking our progress. The masses have no idea about the actual workings of the capitalist production and distribution process. The people don't know what it means that "the cost of money has risen." The myth of amerikkkan "democracy" and the feeling of powerlessness and total inability to confront and overcome those who rule, are the dominant attitudes among our people.

We have to understand that simply pointing and saying "that is the enemy" will not suffice. We can't organize workers at the point

of production if We can't help them to first understand the production process and the ways that our exploitation is conducted in the real, day-to-day world. We can't organize the tenants in the rat-infested buildings if they are in awe of private property, if they fear the landlord and police more than they love and respect their revolutionary vanguard, or if they regard city hall as more of a legitimate authority than their "provisional government."

Fifteen years after the death of Malik, and We still hear our people say "but what can i do?" or "it's always been this way" - expressing a particular conception of how the world works as their reason for not involving themselves in a struggle to change the present situation.

Our ideology contains principles regarding the spirituality, humanity and dignity of our people; a belief in the Community as a Family, and a belief that the Community is more important than the individual. These are principles and beliefs that We are struggling to make live, and in the present situation We are confronted by a complex set of *opposing* beliefs and principles which are based, ultimately, upon a philosophy of the world which is antagonistic to ours.

The belief that our oppression continues because We lack the power to control our own lives, rests upon a particular understanding of the world *as it really is*, as it really has been, and as it can be.

We believe that We can win because We understand the world as a *material* force, and that everything which exists in both nature and society comes into being and passes away on the basis of interconnected change and development.

So, when We see that We have an ideology which puts forth certain beliefs about the u.s. police force, as well as certain beliefs about our national reality and the war We're engaged in, how people *make* change and *make* revolution, We understand that these beliefs rest on a philosophical understanding of the world and society that is *materialist* and dialectical.

This philosophical understanding underlies our agitation, education and organizing around acts of u.s. police repression, calls for "community control" of u.s. police, and calls for the "disbanding" of same. Since our struggle is both against the dominating power of the oppressive u.s. imperialist state - which the police force is an organ of - and a struggle to establish a "state of a new type," a call to "disband" the police stems from our revolutionary ideology *and its philosophical foundation*.

Therefore, as We work to promote and realize the aims of our revolution...We will be able to respond to the feelings of powerlessness and inability expressed by our people. We will be able to respond, in part, because our understanding of the world *as it really is* and as it really works, informs us that:

- the world is, by its very nature, material, and everything which exists comes into being on the basis of material causes, arises and develops in accordance with the laws of the motion of matter;

- that matter is objective reality, existing outside and independent of, the mind; and that our mental reflections of things don't exist in separation from the materiality of the world, but are products of material processes;
- that the world and its laws are knowable, and that while many things may not be known to us at present, there is no unknowable sphere of reality lying outside the material world;
- the world is not a mere agglomeration of things, each existing independently of the others; all things are connected with, dependent on, and determined by each other. Nothing can be understood if taken by itself, but must be seen in its inseparable connection to other things, and as influenced by them;
- the world is in a state of constant movement and change, where something is always arising and developing, and something always dying away;
- the world is not in a process of mere growth, but instead, is in a continual process of onward and upward movement, transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher;
- the world moves through this process of development as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in all things, as a struggle of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions;
- We can determine the causes of our present situation, and the ways and means of creating a future which is consistent with our desire for a free and independent existence, by applying these laws to society. We examine real conditions, "make our own history," on the basis of: the objective material conditions that We have inherited from the past; those We encounter at present; and those We create in the course of our own social and productive practice.

So, as WE sometimes say, We understand that We are not fighting for the ideas in anyone's head. We want to eat, to have decent housing and medical care, to make life better for our children.

Even as We understand that We must *fight* and win our independence before We can realize these needs, We also understand that We must see things in their inter-connection.

We must see the relationship between putting forth a strategy of armed struggle as the means of reaching the New Society and the fact that:

the necessary condition for any society is that people associate with each other to produce their material means of subsistence. Without this collective action -

which constitutes the essence of the human mode of life
- there can be no society. Social life begins with social production, and no other activity can occur without it.

Proceeding on this basis, with the full theoretical perspective of political economy, is an essential component of our revolutionary

activity - part of the subjective conditions that must exist before We can entertain thoughts of victory.

Raising consciousness means more than calling a pig a pig...

We have to understand that even "generalizing support for armed struggle" involves a total process of *changing minds*, of altering the presently held assumptions regarding the nature of the oppressive state, its law, and the explicit and implicit ideological/philosophical beliefs that allow these to stand in the face of mounting genocide.

Organization

Conscious and determined moves toward consolidation in the organization and the Movement, toward clarifying the ideology and putting forth a successful line and practice, must be given organizational form. The practicality and soundness of the consolidation effort, and the ideology and line, would prove themselves, ultimately, only through the organizational form and practice of the organization, and/or of the several organizations which make the attempt to form a homogeneous consolidated body.

One can say anything on paper, and can have convincing verbal arguments which can make anything sound good and workable. But We believe practice to be the ultimate criterion of truth, of what is workable and or not workable.

Without putting one's ideas to the test of practice, We have no truly verifiable way of determining what is correct or incorrect, compatible or incompatible. Without testing ideology and the consolidation process, all kinds of differing views and forms of practice will be able to "co-exist" - but only so long as no *practical activity* is engaged in. So long as no *work* is attempted, our "working relationships" remain intact.

Therefore, all agreements and points of "unity," all efforts to have "working relationships" and consolidation, must be given organizational form and be tested in the practice of revolutionary activity. Only in this way can the divergent and incompatible come to the surface, and it will also give greater cohesion and effectiveness to the newly consolidated body and to our organization.

The first test for those involved in the process of consolidation centers on whether or not there is sufficient grounds for consolidation, and whether or not agreement can be made to consolidate. This ability to agree on consolidation depends on many factors, prime ones being an already-shared degree of ideological and theoretical similarity; shared views on goals and methods, strategy and tactics - all of which then become the foundation for the most appropriate form(s) of organization necessary to make the consolidation process truly effective.

Just as We can't separate ideology from the question of consolidation, neither can We separate it from the problem of organization. The only way to "practice" is to "organize," because

only through organization can the words be tested and realized. Ideology, the need and desire to consolidate, must be given concrete, definite means of expression.

Therefore, once a sufficient degree of ideological clarity and unity has been reached, a policy and line formulated, and a strategy devised, all questions then boil down to how to organize their application. The basic measure and means of ensuring correct application and verification of all the above is through appropriate forms of organization.

...A strategic unity, a consolidation effort, which aims to provide a center of leadership for the entire Movement, can't be governed by spontaneity, by crises, or by issue-oriented, tactical considerations.

The Strategic Conception of Armed Struggle

We put forward a theoretical formulation, and base our practice on a strategic conception of armed struggle, or People's War, because "armed struggle" as strategically conceived by us does not limit itself to military forces and military forms of struggle.

Armed struggle, strategically conceived, goes to the very depths of one's ideological position, of one's total conception of the nature of our oppression, and the methods of achieving our liberation and the goals of national independence.

The strategic conception of armed struggle is a *political* line, a revolutionary nationalist strategy. One's position with regard to armed struggle - in *practice*, and not just verbal acquiescence - reflects in actual fact one's tendency to line up on the side of Jomo Kenyatta or Odinga - if you get the drift...

And, since it is our job to wage the armed struggle, with the masses of our people; our job to "generalize the concept" of armed struggle among our people, to clarify it, bring it down to earth, make clandestinity "public," We must present the conception as graphically and vividly as possible, and draw all connections between "armed struggle" and every aspect of daily life in the process of revolutionary struggle.

The "who, what, why, where, when and how" of the strategic conception of armed struggle have their roots at the point of our domination. We, too, were "intervened" upon. Imperialist aggression upon the Afrikan continent and Afrikan people manifested the primary contradiction which has remained for all these hundreds of years. The contradiction is one between our oppressed nation and the nation which oppresses it. This relationship was initiated through the organized violence of the oppressor nation; the relationship is maintained through the all-encompassing violence of the oppressor nation.

The existence of this contradiction, the comprehension of all its implications, and the need for practice based upon these, are not easily recognized. Some folks avoid such recognition and practice at

all costs, while others accept it only reluctantly and after great mental/intellectual and physical suffering.

We can be aided by referring to the PAIGC...

"Our party was formed in 1956 by six Africans from Guinea and the Cape Verdes. We set up an underground party in Bissau, and extended it to other urban centers. We believed at the time that it was possible to fight by peaceful means. With the help of an underground trade union organization we launched some strikes against the Portuguese and we held some demonstrations, but the Portuguese always answered us with guns. On 3rd August 1959, during a workers' strike in Bissau, they killed 50 African workers and wounded more than 100, in 20 minutes. That finally taught us a lesson: in the face of Portuguese colonialism, and, we think, imperialism in general, there is no question of whether you use armed struggle or not. The struggle is always armed, because the colonialists and imperialists have already decided to use their arms against you. We decided, at an underground meeting in Bissau in September 1959, to stop our demonstrations, to retain our underground organization, but to move it to the countryside to mobilize the people, and prepare ourselves for armed struggle." (Amilcar Cabral, ***Our People Are Our Mountains***)

Now, the PAIGC began with six bloods, and these six bloods began with an "underground" organization - but they did not begin with a strategic conception of armed struggle. It was these six bloods who organized and led the party, who held the belief that they could fight by peaceful means. It should be noted that the word "underground" is not synonymous with armed struggle.

These six bloods began with strikes and demonstrations and the belief that it was possible to fight for national liberation by peaceful means - and the Portuguese always answered them with guns. After 8-3-59, they were "finally" taught a lesson.

They were not answered with guns because they picked up the gun. Malik wasn't killed because he wore a black leather jacket and black beret. They didn't assassinate M.L. King, Jr., because he sold revolutionary newspapers, and called pigs, pigs. They didn't shoot Fred in his bed because they feared the mere presence of a shotgun.

In the face of amerikkkan imperialism there is no question of whether or not We use armed struggle as the strategic method. The struggle is always armed, because the amerikkkan colonialists have already decided to use arms against *any* anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle - they made the decision when they raided the villages and brought us here in chains. The imperialists know that by the very nature of the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor nations, any manifestation of revolutionary violence - even in its political form - must be crushed.

Thus, the lesson that was "finally" taught to the *leadership* of the PAIGC was a lesson that had been possible for them to "learn" well before the 8-3-59 massacre; it was after this lesson had finally been *recognized* and *accepted* by the *leaders* of the party that they then decided to "mobilize the people...and prepare ourselves for armed struggle." They could have mobilized the people and prepared for armed struggle in 1956 when they first organized the party. And,

it should be noted, no mention is made, and history bears out, that the people didn't "demand" armed struggle even after the 8-3-59 massacre - but it was the leadership that made the decision, and went to the head of the people, to mobilize the people and prepare for armed struggle.

When they decided to mobilize the people and prepare for armed struggle, they didn't necessarily mean that there would be no more strikes and demonstrations. It essentially means that strikes and demonstrations would no longer be considered "the way" to peace with dignity. Peace means overthrowing the armed opposition to it, imposed by imperialism. The character of any future strikes and the purpose of any future demonstrations would change, and the "peaceful means" *would not be the basis of a strategy* for liberation. The basis of the strategy for realizing national liberation - the primary "means" of securing victory for the major political objective, is armed struggle. Subordinating the "peaceful means" to the strategy of armed...mass...struggle does not, as some still believe, "make the political line of the vanguard party dependent on military strategy." The reason this is so is because armed mass struggle *is* the political line of the genuine vanguard party.

The masses didn't go to the PAIGC and "demand" armed struggle. It was simply a matter of the party leadership finally facing the reality of the situation, and making the choice to undergo the discomfiture of People's War.

So, We build to win, on the basis of a strategic conception of armed struggle which flows from our ideology, our theory, and our grasp of the facts and truths presented by the real world. Our strategic conception of armed struggle is a political line, and this strategic conception incorporates policies for political, economic, socio-cultural, and military forms of struggle.

The essence of what the strategic conception of armed struggle does for us is that it places all forms of struggle and all the forces organized for struggle within the proper context for maximum coordination and effectiveness.

We say that the overall objective is to achieve national independence and to build a socialist society. Based on a complete analysis of our past and present, We've arrived at the strategic conception of armed struggle, and also arrived at general strategies for the political, economic, military and socio-cultural forms of struggle. But We clearly understand that each form of struggle has particular functions, particular strengths and limitations within the context of the overall struggle, and they are not "equally" important.

Nations which are "at peace" can afford to look with dualist eyes upon "military" and "political" strategies. But for a colonized nation, struggling against imperialist domination, its political strategy is a "military" strategy: the strategy of an entire nation, at war, to free its national territory and build a socialist society "at the back door" of Babylon.

The New Afrikan nation is presently engaged in an actual war for its independence, and to us that means that all mass organizations

and mass work are designed to serve the war effort. Strikes can serve the war effort, but they won't be the basis of the overthrow of the armed power of the oppressive state. Elections may help the war effort, but We can't vote out of existence the rule of the u.s. over the nation. We must fight in order to win. From one generation to the next...

All Power To The People!

Build To Win The War!

Free The Land for Independence and Socialism!